Daily Report

East Europe

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FBIS-EEU-94-157 *15 August 1994*

CONTENTS

NOTICE TO READERS: All material in this volume previously disseminated in electronic form. An Ω indicates a Foreign Media Note.

ALBANIA

Bosnian Minister Ljubijankic Begins Tirana Visit *[Tirana TV]* 1
Mutual Contacts Assessed *[Tirana Radio]* 1
Berisha Meets Ljubijankic *[Tirana TV]* 1
News Conference Held *[Tirana TV]* 1
Ljubijankic Meets Officials *[Tirana TV]* 2
Trial of Greek Minority Activists Opens in Tirana *[AFP]* 2
'Minor Incidents' Noted *[Athens Radio]* 3
Pashtrik Border Guards Detain 3 Yugoslav Soldiers *[Tirana TV]* 3
U.S. Military Assistance Seen as 'Decisive' *[USHTRIA DHE KOHA 10 Aug]* 3
Socialists Meet Greek New Democracy Members *[[ZERI I POPULLIT 17 Jul]]* 5
Hunger Strike 'Willingly' Suspended *[Tirana TV]* 5
Democratic Alliance Discusses Party Strategy *[ALEANCA 2 Aug]* 5
New Officers Elected *[ALEANCA 2 Aug]* 6
Ceka Gives Report *[ALEANCA 2 Aug]* 7
New Head of FYROM Albanian Party Interviewed *[FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT 23/24 Jul]* 10

BULGARIA

Fatherland Union Members Form Political Party *[Sofia Radio]* 13
RDP, Christian Democrats Election Agreement *[Sofia Radio]* 13
Adviser Explains Civilian Control Over Army *[BULGARSKA ARMIYA 9 Aug]* 13
Manager Views Kozloduy Nuclear Plant's Future *[NOVINI 5 9 Aug]* 14
Commentary Views 'Tragic' Agricultural 'Decline' *[TRUD 9 Aug]* 15

CZECH REPUBLIC

Zieleniec Discusses Relations With Germany *[RUDE PRAVO 8 Aug]* 16
Russian Embassy Denies Report of Criminal Action *[RUDE PRAVO 5 Aug]* 16
CSSD Announces Membership Reaches 11,000 *[RUDE PRAVO 5 Aug]* 17
Unemployment Increases Slightly in Jul *[LIDOVE NOVINY 6 Aug]* 17

SLOVAKIA

Pittner Comments on Cooperation With FBI *[PRAVDA 8 Aug]* 18
Proposal for Armed Forces Operations Approved *[NARODNA OBRODA 10 Aug]* 18
Kovac Blames Meciar for Country's Poor Image *[NARODNA OBRODA 10 Aug]* 19
Daily Questions 'Major Success' of Horn Visit *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 11 Aug]* 20
Drive To Cancel Election Said Under Way *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 11 Aug]* 20
Formation of 'National Bloc' Proclaimed *[SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA 9 Aug]* 21
Commission Confirms DU's Petition Sheets Valid *[NARODNA OBRODA 11 Aug]* 22
Deputy Explains Reasons for Resigning From DU *[PRAVDA 11 Aug]* 22
Poll Shows Levels of Parties' Support in Kosice *[SMENA 11 Aug]* 23

HUNGARY

Defense Minister on FRY Visit; No Ukraine Deal *[Budapest TV]* 24
Defense Minister Meets Ukrainian Counterpart *[Budapest TV]* 24
Keleti on Barter Trade *[Budapest Radio]* 24
Defense Minister on Manfred Woerner's Death *[Budapest Radio]* 24
Parties Begin Coordination for Local Elections *[MAGYAR NEMZET 12 Aug]* 25

POLAND

Kuron Remains Most Popular Politician *[ZYCIE WARSZAWY 12 Aug]* 27
ZChN Wants Pawlak To Get Tough on Gangsters *[GAZETA WYBORCZA 12 Aug]* 27
Status of Planned Freeway Project Viewed *[GLOS PORANNY 8 Aug]* 27

ROMANIA

Partnership for Peace Program Ready by Sep *[Bucharest Radio]* 29
SRI 'Prepared To Face Any Terrorist Phenomena' *[TINERETUL LIBER 9 Aug]* 29
'Worrisome' Increase in Drug Trafficking *[ADEVARUL 9 Aug]* 29
PAC To Sign 'Additional Protocol' With CDR *[Bucharest Radio]* 30

BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Additional Serb Heavy Weapons Found in Zone *[AFP]* 31
Stoltenberg Fails To Persuade Bosnian Serbs *[AFP]* 31
Karadzic Rejects Maps *[Sarajevo Radio]* 31
Territory Exchange Discussed *[TANJUG]* 32
UN, Serbs Reach Sarajevo Antisniper Agreement *[AFP]* 32
Serb Leader Hails Agreement *[TANJUG]* 32
Gunmen Fire on Peacekeepers *[AFP]* 33
UN: Muslim Forces Violating Exclusion Zone *[TANJUG]* 33
Government Rejects Negotiations With Abdic *[AFP]* 33
Western Bosnia Seeks Protectorate for Bihac *[Zagreb Radio]* 34
Combat Activity Reduced *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Abdic's Troops Fighting Among Themselves *[Sarajevo Radio]* 34
Krajisnik Statement on 'Resolve To Persevere' *[Sarajevo Radio]* 35
Sarajevo Airport Reopened for UN Flights *[TANJUG]* 35

CROATIA

Tudjman Views Sanctions, 'Occupied Territories' *[Zagreb Radio]* 36
Use of Force Against Krajina Serbs Threatened *[TANJUG]* 36
Martic Demands UN Treat Serbs, Croats Equally *[TANJUG]* 37
Refugees To End Blockade of UN Checkpoints *[Zagreb Radio]* 37
Knin Support of 'Italian Neofascists' Feared *[DANAS 19 Jul]* 37
Shifts in Ruling Party Analyzed *[DANAS 19 Jul]* 38
'Media Crisis' in Country Discussed *[DANAS 19 Jul]* 40

THE FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLIC OF MACEDONIA

Gligorov Sums Up Visits to U.S., Germany *[MILS-NEWS 15 Aug]* 42
Milosevic To 'Recognize' B-H, Croatia, FYROM *[MILS-NEWS 15 Aug]* 42
Mazowiecki: Human Rights 'Below Expectations' *[MILS-NEWS 12 Aug]* 42
Choice of Aliti as Head of PDP Assessed *[PULS 22 Jul]* 42

SLOVENIA

Italian Citizenship Offer Draws Response *[Ljubljana Radio]* 43
Balladur Supports EU Associate Membership Talks *[Ljubljana Radio]* 43
Military Delegation Sums Up Visit to U.S. *[Ljubljana Radio]* 43

YUGOSLAVIA

Federal

Army Statement on Incident on Albanian Border *[TANJUG]* 44
Defense Chief Talks With Hungarian Counterpart *[TANJUG]* 44
National Radical Party Elects New Leaders *[TANJUG]* 44
Detention of Sandzak 'Secessionists' Extended *[TANJUG]* 44

Serbia

Stoltenberg Arrives in Belgrade for Talks *[TANJUG]* 44
Milosevic, Stoltenberg Talk *[TANJUG]* 44
Growing Support in Serbia for Peace Plan *[TANJUG]* 45
Opposition Party Urges Belgrade-Pale Dialogue *[TANJUG]* 45
Journalists Urge Renewing Ties to Bosnian Serbs *[TANJUG]* 45

Bosnian Minister Ljubijankic Begins Tirana Visit

AU1308155194 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Report by Reis Cico]

[Text] Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic arrived in Tirana today. Mr. Ljubijankic said the following for television:

[Begin Ljubijankic recording in English fading to Albanian translation] We have come here to establish better relations to affirm our brotherhood and friendship. [end recording]

At Rinas Airport, Mr. Ljubijankic was received by Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and Foreign Ministry officials.

This afternoon, Bosnian Foreign Minister Ljubijankic met with Albanian Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi. The meeting focused on bilateral cooperation issues and the situation in the Balkans.

The Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina was then inaugurated in Tirana.

Mutual Contacts Assessed

AU1308155494 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1730 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Report by Zamira Koleci]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The first visit to Albania by a high-ranking official from Bosnia-Herzegovina will enable contacts of mutual interest and open and useful dialogue—this was confirmed by Foreign Ministers Serreqi and Ljubijankic in a meeting held this afternoon, thus opening the agenda of the two-day visit of the Bosnian delegation to Albania.

Minister Serreqi considered the visit of his Bosnian counterpart to be very special, not only as a testament to very warm and friendly feelings, but a visit that meets with complete approval in the logic of bilateral relations.

We feel good to be among friends, at a time when we want many friends—that is what the Bosnian foreign minister said at the meeting with Serreqi.

He later confirmed that they continue to follow events in Albania and desired positive developments and continued contacts. He also talked about the difficult situation in his own country, the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina neither asked for nor desired the war, as well as their efforts to avoid it.

Tomorrow, the delegation will hold meetings with other senior officials of the Albanian State and Government.

Berisha Meets Ljubijankic

AU1308203594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] President Berisha received Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic today.

Albania has consistently supported your people's increasing resistance to the aggressors and understands the persistence of your leaders to negotiate on the road to resolving the conflict, President Berisha told Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic.

The Albanian Government hails your agreement to create the Bosnian-Croat Federation and, recently, your acceptance of the peace plan proposed by the Contact Group, and considers them necessary decisions to provide an end to the war in the interest of peace in the country and stability in the region.

The world has noted only Serb maneuvers to justify their aggressive policy, President Berisha continued. Recently, Belgrade officially proclaimed the approval of the peace plan, whereas in the name of Serbian unity, the Serbian church, which serves to promote Milosevic's nationalism, has lined up on Karadzic's side.

The international community should be very heedful of these maneuvers, which increase the chances of conflict and war in the region.

Assessing relations between our two countries as very good, President Berisha said there exists abundant possibilities for cooperation with mutual interest in various fields and sectors.

For his part, Minister Ljubijankic thanked Albania and President Berisha for the support given to the Bosnian Government and people in their stand to defend their country. We are determined to make every effort to achieve peace and normalize life. In this framework, we seek to strengthen ties with you. In addition to political cooperation, we are interested in other fields as well.

News Conference Held

AU1308210494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] At noon today, Foreign Minister Alfred Serreqi and Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic gave a news conference. They both issued introductory statements assessing developments in bilateral relations. They stressed that they share the same views on the problems that were discussed.

Responding to a question as to how he assessed Albania's stance on the Bosnian conflict and the regional crisis in general, Mr. Ljubijankic answered that he praised Albania's stance both on the Bosnian conflict and the regional crisis.

Asked about the consequences of lifting the arms embargo on the Bosnian Muslims, Mr. Ljubijankic said that the embargo has been unjustly established on us. The war was imposed on us. No foreign soldier should have sacrificed his life for our freedom, therefore we are asking for weapons to defend ourselves.

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Asked about Kosova, Ljubijankic condemned the Serbian violence carried out there and said that peaceful resistance was best for the time being.

The news conference lasted approximately 40 minutes.

Ljubijankic Meets Officials

AU1408172494 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] On the second day of his stay in Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic began his round of meetings with Defense Minister Safet Zhulali. Our defense minister expressed to Mr. Ljubijankic his recognition of the achievements of the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina in preserving their integrity, independence, as well as approving the peace plan.

Both interlocutors discussed the situation in the region and stressed the idea that they should cooperate in the military field as they do in other fields.

Albania has been sensitive to the war in Bosnia, People's Assembly Presidency Chairman Pjeter Arbnori said at his meeting with Foreign Minister Ljubijankic. He then stressed that, at various international forums, Albania has raised its voice to defend the Bosnian Republic and condemned the Serbian aggressors. War is no way to resolve conflicts, but this does not stop people from fighting for their freedom, Mr. Arbnori said.

In his speech, Deputy Chairman Shaqir Vukaj, of the People's Assembly Presidency, pointed out that all Albanian parties support the just fight of the Bosnian people. The friendship between our two peoples, he said, has been professed not only with words, but has been historically testified to by actions.

In his speech, Mr. Ljubijankic said that we have done everything to avoid war. However, now we will do everything to win it. We accepted the peace plan, even though it was not totally just. We think that, with peace, we will be able to resolve any outstanding problems.

On behalf of the Bosnian parliament, Mr. Ljubijankic invited Mr. Arbnori to Sarajevo for a visit. Arbnori welcomed the invitation.

Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic was received today by Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi. Economic problems dominated the meeting. Both interlocutors discussed the possibilities of economic cooperation. Mr. Ljubijankic showed interest in Albanian exports and cooperation in the fields of hydro-energy and infrastructure.

Prime Minister Meksi pointed out that Albania mainly exports chromium, copper, food products, and clothing. Regarding cooperation in the hydro-energy and infrastructure sectors, Meksi expressed his readiness to be open to any cooperation of mutual interest.

Mr. Meksi pointed out that contacts at the expert level would enable the acceleration and implementation of bilateral cooperation. At the end of the meeting, Prime Minister Meksi assured Mr. Ljubijankic that the political and economic support of the Albanian Government will not be absent.

In all the meetings, Bosnian Foreign Minister Irfan Ljubijankic condemned Serbian violence and repression in Kosova.

Continuing his activity in Tirana, Ljubijankic held a meeting with representatives of the Albania-Bosnia-Herzegovina Friendship Association.

Trial of Greek Minority Activists Opens in Tirana

AU1508090494 Paris AFP in English 0827 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Tirana, Aug 15 (AFP)—The trial of five members of Albania's Greek minority, accused of "high treason," opened here Monday [15 August] in a time of crisis between Albania and Greece.

The defendants—Constantin Qiriaku, Theodori Bezhani, Vangjiel Papchristo, Panajot Marto and Iracli Sirmo—are leaders of Omonia, a Greek minority organization. They were arrested April 18 following a deadly attack on an Albanian barracks which Tirana blames on a Greek commando.

The incident occurred near the border with Greece, in the south of Albania, which is home to a large Greek population. It raised the chronic tension between the two countries and quickly led to the reciprocal expulsion of diplomats. Greece has denied involvement.

The five defendants face from 10 years in prison to the death penalty if convicted of high treason, expansionism aims and cooperating with foreign agents.

Three of the men were also charged with illegal possession of firearms.

Tirana claims to have "proof" of relations between the defendants and Greek institutions. The court will hear some 50 witnesses.

In recent days, tension has risen again between Athens, which is "concerned about the outcome for the Greek minority" and Tirana, which is "concerned by the separatist activities" within the same minority.

Greece has called the trial a "farce."

Greek Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias has threatened to respond forcefully "to all provocations which hurt the interests of the Greek minority."

Six Greek legislators, deputy parliament speaker Yorgos Anastasopoulos and the head of the Athens legal association Takis Papas were to attend the hearings.

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On Monday only seven out of 30 Greek journalists who wanted to cover the trial were allowed into the courtroom which accommodates 70 people.

If the five are found guilty, Greece envisages expelling hundreds of thousands of Albanians who live in Greece and freezing Albanian accounts. It is also continuing to block grants by the European Union to Albania of 35 million ECUs.

'Minor Incidents' Noted

NC1508104294 Athens Elliniki Radhiofonia Radio Network in Greek 0900 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] The trial of five Omonoia [Greek minority organization] leading members opened in Tirana a short time ago. According to reports, a climate of tension and intimidation prevails both within and outside the courtroom, while the presence of the Albanian police force is suffocating.

Minor incidents occurred between leading Omonoia members and Albanian policemen as the accused were being taken to court. The Albanian policemen behaved provocatively and insulted Greek deputies Yeoryios-Alexandros Mangakis and Andonios Fousas, members of the interparty delegation who have gone to Tirana to follow the trial.

Finally, very few correspondents and only three lawyers entered the courtroom. A written protest against this unacceptable stance by the Albanian police was submitted to the court.

Pashtrik Border Guards Detain 3 Yugoslav Soldiers

AU1208104894 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 11 Aug 94

[Text] The Public Order Ministry reports that, at 0830 [0630 GMT] today, the border guards at the Pashtrik post, in the sector of Pyramid D/4, 30 meters inside Albanian territory, detained three Yugoslav soldiers armed with automatic weapons and carrying radio and optical equipment.

The soldiers testified that they were fully aware of having crossed the border.

We should stress that there have been other attempts by Serbian soldiers to rustle cattle while local residents were herding them near this border sector.

U.S. Military Assistance Seen as 'Decisive'

AU1508095694 Tirana USHTRIA DHE KOHA in Albanian 10 Aug 94 pp 1, 4

[Article by Sheme Kosova: "Clear Prospect of a Successful Cooperation"]

[Text] In the modern history of the Albanian Army, the visit of U.S. Defense Secretary William Perry will remain in the pantheon of the major events that our servicemen have experienced since the establishment of the democratic state. The visit's significant message was a convincing indication of U.S. support and serious commitment to boost the concrete help, especially toward the Albanian Army.

Our General Staff has for a long time closely felt the unsparing assistance of the U.S. liaison mission based at the Ministry of Defense. In addition to that, the continued exchanges of delegations, our learning from and implementing in our concrete conditions the U.S. experience, have yielded inspiring results in restructuring the Albanian Army.

Structural, organizational, and conceptual changes carried out during the last two or three years fully affirm the successful materialization of the U.S. experience in the Albanian Army's concrete conditions.

Major and difficult tasks set before us within the framework of our reform's third phase cause us to be realistic about what we have achieved and what we are aiming at achieving in the future.

The U.S. support has first of all brought unmistakable changes in terms of Albanian military thought. We are in the process of drafting the military doctrine, whose endorsement will be yet another achievement in our army's thorough reformation.

As the doctrine will quite naturally sanction the fundamental military principles of our country's defense, we will count on our allies and partners, who have declared themselves in favor of the Albanian question, to help us in a concrete way. In this respect, the decisive role of the U.S. assistance will undoubtedly bring about a conceptual change for our servicemen. The time of paradoxes and quixotic adventures, foreseeing only wars with coalitions of enemies, has left nothing behind but bitterness and ill will. It is worth emphasizing this important moment having to deal with the new vision of our defense, because everything has as a starting point the thought and concepts that will be ultimatively defined in the military doctrine.

The U.S. qualitative assistance has resulted in important changes in our servicemen's way of judging the Albanian Army's present and future.

Our country's geostrategic position will help us to make new assessments of conditions and the situation we are passing through, forcing analysts to determine the trends and tendencies of conflicts in our region. With the restructuring of the General Staff the relevant sectors have already started their work of giving shape to the new military thought that will serve us as a criterion to take as rational decisions as possible, in the interest of the defense of our country's independence, peace and security in the region. It is impossible to conceive a constructive thought based only on theory and practice while disregarding the complex factors accompanying

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our developments. Quite naturally, the work of our military analysts will be dynamic in order to cope with all kinds of changes of the situation.

On the basis of this new thought, we have taken concrete steps toward the military preparedness of our troops.

We have openly expressed our readiness to take part in joint exercises within the framework of the Partnership for Peace.

Nevertheless, our preparedness in conformity with the standards of NATO armies requires not only strong will and advanced thought, but first and foremost training of high quality and intensity.

The continued U.S. assistance is crystallizing a special school for our Army. What is required from all our staffs at all levels is a total reflection of this experience in the training programs implemented in our units of different services and specialties. Our country's specific conditions necessitate a creative work on the part of our staffs, free from copy-cat imitation of what is served. Numerous crews of U.S. Army officers and NCO's have gone to various units of our Army in search of cooperation. After consultations and discussions, what is the best and most suitable for our conditions has been selected. The indispensability of a well-studied work, far from crash campaigns and spontaneity, is worth mentioning in this respect. Professionalism should be the essence of our staffs' programs in every military unit.

Some recent command/staff and active duty troops exercises have indicated that distinct qualitative strides are being made on the road of reforming our military tactical and operational concepts. In addition to that, they have served as an incentive to act more courageously for the creation of new norms and ideas on running the army units.

As in all other fields of thought, the military concepts also develop in accordance with requirements imposed by the times. The military commanders and leaders must be creative, always in search of new forms of leading the troops with dignity, having as the ultimate goal to guarantee the success of military operations in all possible situations our Army might encounter.

Raising the professional level of military preparedness will be primarily realized through the qualification of military commanders of all ranks in the hierarchy.

In this direction also, the priority of the U.S. experience is evident. In addition to training NCO's at U.S. schools, concrete assistance and aid have been present at our military institutions and units. A concrete expression of this is the working and training program in the Noncommissioned Officers Academy in Tirana. From planning the teaching program to the detailed fulfillment of the requirements set forth for the NCO's, who are the backbone of the army, the advanced U.S. experience has been materialized in a creative way. The career NCO's trained by this academy will lead to great qualitative changes in consolidating the hierarchy in the military barracks and the general preparedness of our soldiers. This experience of the Noncommissioned Officers Academy must serve as an incentive for other units and institutions which, according to the possibilities and contemporary requirements, will set up qualification courses for officers and NCO's, aimed at reaching with dignity the set quotas, in accordance with NATO military standards. It remains a permanent task for the Defense Ministry's apparatus, that the experience gained from the cooperation with the U.S. and NATO armies should not remain the "property" of a limited category of servicemen, but must be disseminated among all our military units down to the last soldier in uniform.

Military preparedness for the defense of our country's freedom and independence is our Army's main, but not only task.

The readiness of our state to engage in international peace and security organs sets before us serious obligations regarding the readiness of our task force that will contribute to peacekeeping. This contingent must be an accomplished unit, having not only the necessary knowledge of foreign language, history, and traditions of the peoples engulfed in the conflict, but also professional capability to act at every delicate moment. Besides this, the preparation for rescue operations and other obligations deriving from our engagement in the Partnership for Peace program should not be neglected.

On the other hand, our joint exercises with the NATO forces and other forces of democratic countries necessitate raising the process of our troops' training to a higher qualitative level, concentrating on operations that are more likely to emerge in a given military situation. With the joint exercises that will be carried out soon, which constitute a marked event for our servicemen in the field of health service, our concrete cooperation begins through the direct participation of our forces in the joint exercises.

Today, it is clear to every serviceman that the integration into the NATO bodies cannot be achieved merely by our desire and theoretical commitment. Side by side with rational programs and ideas, the main yardstick of assessing the work our staffs and other links is the practical test among the norms and standards of Western modern armies. The dignified performance of our army depends on us, therefore we should not spare our efforts to show our U.S. and NATO friends that the real moral values of the Albanian servicemen have their roots in their courageous work to present themselves as equals to their colleagues from advanced countries. The General Staff, counting on the good experience gained, will always raise the level of its work in order to follow rhythmically whatever changes that might occur, incessantly improving the quality of the Albanian Army's military preparedness so as to guarantee the fulfillment of the noble mission we have toward our people: safeguarding freedom and Albanian democracy.

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Socialists Meet Greek New Democracy Members

94P21054A Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 17 Jul 94 p 1

[Statement issued by the Information Office of the Socialist Party in Tirana; date not given]

[Text] On 16 July Dr. Servet Pellumbi, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party, received a group of Greek deputies, representatives of the New Democracy Party, at the Socialist Party headquarters.

In response to the interest of the Greek deputies in relations between the two countries, Dr. Servet Pellumbi stressed that we want good neighborliness, harmony, and cooperation. We should not accept tensions between the two countries, which chill relations. We expressed the opinion that relations between the two countries should be governed not by the passion of the moment but by a strong political will to resolve problems by dialogue, especially after the Peshkepi incident, which increased tension. The people want coexistence and good neighborliness. We must rise above incidents and look at the future of relations.

Servet Pellumbi said that some advances have been made in regard to the Greek minority in Albania but, naturally, there is room for improvement for a number of issues. Nothing is resolved immediately, even for the Albanian people in this transition period. We have considered and we still consider the situation of the minority in the framework of our friendship with the Greek people and the Greek minority will always enjoy the rights which are not gifts but which actually belong to them on the basis of international standards.

Responding to the interest in the opinion of the Socialist Party in regard to the arrest of citizens from the [Greek] minority, Servet Pellumbi said that, in connection with the accusations made, we only know what has been made public. However, for them, just as for every Albanian citizen, we demand respect for legal norms, legal defense, respect for detention conditions, and an open and public trial. This is one of our democratic demands. But, on the other hand, we believe that official media organs in Greece should not disinform public opinion with untruths. We do not think that the arrest of six minority members in this climate of aggravation serves to reduce tension in relations between the two countries.

In this meeting, in which deputies Bashkim Zeneli and Theodhori Bej also participated, during an exchange of opinions on relations between the two countries and on minority rights, it was stressed that we cannot accept the opinion expressed by a Greek deputy that there is a climate of terrorism toward the [Greek] minority in Albania. The situation is not at all like this and we all know if more can be done here.

Hunger Strike 'Willingly' Suspended

AU1408132694 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] A spokesman for the Public Order Ministry reports that yesterday, willingly and without police intervention, the hunger strike was suspended everywhere except Shkoder. In Vlore, the police detained six persons for shooting at the police last night on charges of terrorism.

In Shkoder, 10 strikers willingly abandoned the strike. The police are working to identify those among the strikers who shot at police, as well as to collect evidence on terrorist activity.

Four persons suspected of terrorist activity were detained. The situation is under complete control.

Democratic Alliance Discusses Party Strategy

AU1508120494 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 2 Aug 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Democratic Alliance Assembly Meets"]

[Text] A regular meeting of the Democratic Alliance [AD] Assembly was held at the party's headquarters on Saturday [30 July]. The planned agenda included a report by the party's president on the activities of the party so far, speeches, and a ballot on the proposals emerging in the course of the meeting. Assembly member Arian Nika, opening the meeting, put before the assembly presidium a motion that was incorporated in the agenda.

After the report delivered by Neritan Ceka, which dealt with the main problems concerning the party's work, organization, strategies in the coming elections, and the policies the AD offers to the Albanian electorate, almost all the members of the assembly spoke. Arben Imami, the AD's general secretary, discussed the party's organizational problems. He pointed out that the AD, in acting on the decision of the most recent assembly, has become a popular party today. There have been many new admissions to membership, and branches have been set up in the overwhelming majority of the districts of Albania. Mr. Imami said that the main difficulty lies in setting in motion the party's clubs and sections that have hitherto remained more or less inactive and have waited on headquarters for everything. Prec Zogaj, the AD press director, referred to the party's plan for free and healthy media. He proposed coordinated action by the opposition parties and independent associations to depoliticize the state radio and television.

Ridvan Peshkepia, director of the Organization Directorate, referred to the AD's organization and spread among the electorate, pointing out the major difficulties under which it carries out its work today. He asked the party's assembly for greater commitment to activating the AD organizations in the districts, because this, he

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said, is vital in ensuring that the party's alternative and program reaches the Albanian electorate. "The AD is a growing party, and this is now clearly felt," Peshkepia said. "What is called for now is more dedication and idealism in work with voters. We must not lose a single opportunity in winning people over. Each individual means a vote, and this is a very important fact," Deputy Peshkepia concluded.

The work of the party's Foreign Directorate was the subject of a speech by Mr. Shahin Kadare, the directorate's chairman. According to Kadare, the AD has done a good deal of work in setting forth its ideas on the international political stage. Meetings have been held with sister parties in Greece, Italy, Britain, France, etc., and the AD's standpoint is taken into account by foreign organizations dealing with Albania. Shahin Kadare raised the problem of a final decision regarding the party's membership in European party forums, on the basis of the positions established by the party's program and statute. In conclusion, Kadare thanked the British Liberal Democrats for the material assistance they have so far offered.

Mr. Albert Karriqi, member of the assembly, discussed the work of the party presidency, asking it to put forward as soon as possible a platform concerning the short-term path the AD will follow. Mr. Karriqui said that, alongside the motion against Mr. Ngjela, a motion of no confidence must also be raised against a section of the presidency, which stands aside from politics and is ineffective. He said that the party has still not applied all its energies and that the coming elections will be very difficult if an AD candidate is not found for every ballot box. He said that he personally favored the AD's membership of the Liberal-Democrat Internationale. Alfred Pemma, chairman of the Electoral Commission, spoke about the difficulties this group has encountered in performing its duties. He went on to say that the presidency must follow the party line in its standpoints and be more effective.

Blendi Fevziu, editor in chief of ALEANCA, said that the AD has lacked realism. According to Fevziu, "the party must not slide to the left, because it has nothing in common with either the Socialists or the Democrats. We must abandon the idea of being a second party, and must aim at 10 percent," Fevziu said. In this context, he continued, we cannot prejudge any political force and we must leave open the possibility of cooperating with any of them, of course according to the political conditions.

New Officers Elected

AU1508120594 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 2 Aug 94 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Changes in the Assembly Presidium"]

[Text] In a vote of no confidence, Saturday's [30 July] Democratic Alliance [AD] Assembly meeting removed Mr. Spartak Ngjela from the post of chairman. His de facto departure from the party seven months ago was the reason for the vote of no confidence raised against him, in accordance with the statutes, by Mr. Arian Nika on behalf of 15 assembly members. The motion was registered with the presidium in the morning for consideration in the afternoon, after all the other items on the announced agenda had been worked through. Ngjela had about six hours at his disposal to repair the image of passivity he had created as leader of the party's highest forum, but its seems that six hours were not enough after seven months of inertia.

Proposing the motion, Arian Nika pointed out the distinction between the personality of an AD member and the party functions he takes upon himself. We defend Ngjela's personality, he said, but the tasks of the party's number two require daily commitment and dedication. One might excuse the passivity of an assembly member, but not its chairman, Nika said, especially at a time like this, when the AD has major difficulties as well as great ambitions.

For his part, Ngjela rejected the part of the motion referring to his failure to perform his duties, emphasizing that his sole duty involved assembly meetings. He admitted the portion relating to his lack of party commitment in recent months because "there has been conflict between me and the presidency." Mr. Ridvan Peshkepia then spoke in support of the motion, saying that he had not noticed any conflict of ideas between the presidency and Ngjela. The party has pursued the lines of its program. I have noticed today that both Ceka's report on behalf of the presidency and Ngjela's speech hammer home a single point: strengthening liberal democracy and Westernism in Albania, whose hope lies in the AD. There is no conflict of ideas, and I think, Peshkepia said, that a political conflict cannot be created simply because someone is not included in a delegation. The party is growing from day to day, and in order to achieve our objectives we need the work of all its structures, including the assembly and its presidium. I therefore say that Ngjela can give more as an assembly member, while someone else can contribute more in his post as assembly chairman. Albert Kasa from Gjirokaster and Blendi Gonxhe from Tirana both spoke in support of the motion. The latter, talking about the passivity of the assembly chairman, said that it was inexcusable that Ngjela did not inform the party about the events of 14 January and did not go to Shkoder as the party's number two in order to express condolences to the Cekini family. Ngjela replied that he had not been in Albania at that time. While the motion was discussed, Ngjela was asked whether he agreed to tender his resignation. The answer was no.

The motion then passed to a secret ballot. A commission consisting of Arben Demeti, Gjergj Zefi, and Skender Aluca counted the votes and announced that Ngjela had received less than one-third of them. At this point, something that no member of the assembly had expected

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occurred; Ngjela gave his resignation from the party too, when it had been expected that he would announce a faction within the assembly. Mr. Akli Fundo also resigned after the ballot.

The meeting went on to elect a new chairman and deputy chairman for the assembly. Many proposals were put forward, but those that triumphed in the end were in line with the AD's commitment to introducing new blood. The young Shkoder intellectual Gjergj Zefi, the former assembly deputy chairman, was elected chairman. He is well known to the entire Albanian public for his brave articles in defense of a new vision of democracy and for his courageous denunciations of political primitivism and corruption. Mr. Albert Kasa, also a young intellectual from Gjirokaster and an AD member since its foundation, was elected deputy chairman.

Three New Assembly Members—Who Are They?

The assembly voted almost unanimously for three new members of this forum, proposed by the presidency on the basis of a special disposition of the statutes. Who are they?

Anesti Kondili

Professor Anesti Kondili graduated from the Medical Faculty of Tirana University in 1965. He specialized in cardiology in France. He is head of the Reanimation Section of the Tirana Cardiology Unit. In 1981, he earned the title of candidate of medical science, and became a senior lecturer in 1986. He became a professor in 1986, and earned a doctorate in 1988. Anesti Kondili has published a great deal, and is the author of 10 textbooks and four monographs. He was a member of the Albanian Workers Party from 1979 until February 1991, when he handed in his membership card during the students' strike for the removal of Hoxha's name from Tirana University. He is a founding member of the AD.

Aleksander Frangaj

Aleksander Frangaj graduated in drama from the Academy of Arts in Tirana. He became one of the most active founders of a free press in Albania after the movement of December 1990. For three years, he has been editor in chief of the newspaper KOHA JONE, and is one of the most prominent representatives of the new generation of journalists that has come to the fore under pluralism. Aleksander Frangaj is 25 years old. As a journalist and a courageous editor in chief, he has been twice arrested by the ruling Democratic Party regime, and on both occasions has emerged innocent. He has never been a member of any previous political party. He is a founding member of the AD.

Zef Ndreka

Zef Ndreka is 30 years old. He is a metallurgical engineer from Rubik and a graduate of Tirana University. He was one of the founding members of the section of the Democratic Party in the town of Rubik in January 1991, and was this section's secretary for a long time, but left the party before the motion [leading to the formation of the AD in 1992] was raised. The is one of the engineers of Mirdite that helped to prepare the AD's parliamentary interpellation about the destiny of the copper industry.

Ceka Gives Report

AU1508120794 Tirana ALEANCA in Albanian 2 Aug 94 pp 2, 4

[First part of report by unidentified correspondent on speech by Nertian Ceka, president of the Democratic Alliance, to a meeting of the Democratic Alliance Assembly in Tirana on 30 July: "A Greater Presence, More Political Action, More Initiative"]

[Text] Mr. Nertian Ceka, president of the Democratic Alliance [AD], began his report by paying respects to Cjovalin Cekini, the member of the AD killed in Shkoder on 14 January 1994 "within the framework of the winter operation" organized by the regime against the party, which was conducted not only with bullets but with iron bars and knuckle-dusters. Ceka stressed that the AD, in its resistance, has played a great role in forcing the regime to abandon primitive methods of political struggle. He later spoke about the party's successes in its efforts to become a center party with tendencies toward the right and about the shortcomings of this period. Ceka underlined that the AD had made its mark more as a party of intellectual weight, while its political activity had lagged behind.

Toward the Elections in 20 Months

After talking about the strategy of terror and the impossibility of building a safe basis for future work, Mr. Ceka said that Albanian politics today indeed stands at a time when people are taking thought. As Mr. Zogaj pointed out at a meeting with the electorate, after the initial period of PD [Democratic Party] triumphalism, followed by a period of state terror, a third stage in Berisha's thinking is beginning, in which he borrows ideas. The ideas of dialogue, tolerance, and cooperation among political forces on the basis of national interests were put forward by the AD two years ago not as demagogy, but as ways to realize a tangible program based on the three basic reforms of institutions, the economy, and culture. This is why, in Berisha's efforts to change the phraseology of politics, we still do not see any serious commitment to changing the politics itself. It has been said that Albanian politics today is a hostage to the past, which is true mainly of the mentality in which it is run. This is equally valid for the ruling party and the opposition, simply because both sides lived for a long time under the dictatorship in comparison with those few years that still cannot be called democracy. As an expression of this mentality, it is with a kind of feeling of impatient revanchism that the left-wing opposition counts the 600 days [until the next scheduled general elections], just as the ruling party counts these days in a kind of terror, having demonstrated in Libofshe that it has embraced the communist formula of "We won

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through blood, and will hold on through blood." It is clear that there are efforts to polarize Albanian politics into a revanchist struggle between the PD and the PS [Socialist Party], which does not exclude compromise schemes based not on the interests of the state but on the favors that might be extracted from it. These illegal favors, corruption, contraband, and the precedents for the use of violence against registered political opponents of the opposition will no doubt make the next election campaign very bitter. On the other hand, it would be very damaging for the Albanians to turn their country into a battleground between triumphant former communists and defeated former communists, whose mentalities are determined by a guilt complex over the past. Albanian politics can be freed from the nightmare of the past only by honestly shedding it and by relying on the values of a civil society. The natural bearers of these values are the middle strata of society and the center of the political strata, where these values are represented. It is for this reason necessary to strengthen the AD in the center of Albanian politics, in order to pave the way for ideas and work of a European character and to avoid deepening the two-party polarism in Albania.

The next 600 days must mean for the AD commitment and preparation to present itself at the elections with a claim to power as one of the three main political forces that will define the nature of the democratic Albanian state. This character must be expressed in the nature of our own organization, on the principle that only a democratic party can build a free society in Albania. For this reason, we are against the kind of party run on military lines that puts itself in the service of the interests of a handful of people in power. In building an electoral party, we must aim at making it disciplined enough in order to enable it to garner the maximum number of votes from the state it represents and strong enough to be able to respond to force with force in self-defense. On the other hand, it must be a real mosaic of individuals, in order to be able to shoulder that segment of power that will belong to it on the basis of the votes. In these remaining 20 months, we must concentrate on expanding and organizing the party, so that it will be represented in every ballot box, but also on promoting the party's personalities at all levels.

We will fight the next elections with tangible programs, but also with political personalities. This is a form of competition that must begin within the party, and I invite all those AD members who have set themselves the goal of participating in the work of government to define their objectives and the positions for which they can compete in order to contribute the most, from chairmen of communes to ministers. The principles on which the AD is based encourage honest competition on the basis of each person's skills and political enthusiasm. According to the level of ambition, this competition should take place on the basis of campaigns and support groups, as in democratic European parties. Such activities, based on cooperation and mutual trust, only strengthen the party, and nobody can expect gifts from the party, i.e. from the work of other people. Let out motto be, "a greater presence, more political action, more initiative."

The last two years have been a clear demonstration for the Albanian electorate that the PD is unable to accomplish the transformation of Albanian society. Apart from the discouraging disappointment of these two years, this period has also meant a loss of time and of opportunities leading to the destiny of Albania again being forgotten by the international community. Incompetence, centralism, distrust, corruption, and insecurity have led foreign investors not only to hesitate before establishing themselves in Albania, but to abandon the country after bitter experience. The PD's policy has been particularly discouraging for Albanian investment, failing to create the necessary conditions for capital to be transferred from turnover to production. The class of small and medium businessmen, which should be the basis of the development of the market economy, is being treated as an enemy by the authoritarian state and is compelled to operate without any security of property or life, without banks, and under the pressure of pirates, the taxman, and the state. There can be no revival of the economy or transformation of Albania without the support of this class. The AD is the only party that has understood this fact from the start, and this is the reason why I can say that building Albania means building up the AD. More than self-praise, this is a historic responsibility that every member of our party must feel.

What Kind of Albania Do We Propose for the Albanians? A State Under the Citizens' Control

In the first place, it will be an Albania entirely different from that of today, which is moving forward on an extremely slow trajectory toward neither the East nor the West. We propose a rich, European Albania, clean, dignified, safe, and peaceful, through the accomplishment of three radical reforms—institutional, economic, and cultural. In building such a state, we refer to the experience of the countries of Central Europe and the principles of the democracy of the United States on the law-governed state and the separation of powers on the basis of mutual control and balance.

We wish to construct differently the relation of the state with the citizen, in which the state will be at the behest of and under the control of the citizen, and not the opposite. The arbitrariness of the current regime will be set aside when it becomes clear that it is the citizen that maintains the state through the taxes he pays, and that the state does not maintain citizens with alms in the form of wages. Relations between the state and the citizen must urgently be placed on the basis of the Constitution, and approving the constitution will be one of the aims of our political struggle before the 1996 elections. The AD will strive for a democratic European constitution, discussed at length at different political and intellectual levels and approved by the people's direct representatives. We oppose corporate forms that aim to

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underpin an authoritarian regime in Albania. In this context, we are in favor of an entirely different form of relationship between the state and political parties, freeing the state from parallelism, tutelage, and degeneration through nepotism. The state structures must be built on the principle of democracy, taking as their basis the competence and motivation of their personnel. Rotation, on the basis of a voting mechanism, rather than staff replacement on the basis of party interests will be able to revive these structures, with the help of new programs and operations.

Such a relationship of the state with the government will also change the relations between the ruling party and the opposition. We see these relations as an integral part of the mechanism of government, and we will always be against the principle of exclusion that predominates in the relations between the government and the opposition today. It is clear to us that today's left-wing opposition is not up to the standards of a democratic opposition, because, alongside its Eurosocialist tendency, it also reflects the thinking of an electorate inclined to nostalgia, revanchism, and destruction.

It is also clear to us that the current PD government is un-European with its coercion, exclusiveness, and unprincipled war against alternatives and against joint decisionmaking. We aim to introduce a new political culture into relations between the government and the opposition, relying on the basic principles of liberal democratic philosophy.

We also see the organizations of a free society as a very important ingredient in relations between the state and the individual. One manifestation of the state's onslaught against the individual today is the paralysis of associations and their exclusion from political influence. This aggression has been especially savage in the media, which have been monopolized and reduced to mediocrity by the innermost circles of government.

It is necessary to undertake a broad political campaign to emancipate information, strengthen the free press, and create independent media.

There can be no freedom of the individual, or right to a free vote, without freedom of information.

Privatization

The second direction in which we aim to build Albania differently is in its economy. The AD, in contrast to the other opposition forces, has stressed the fact that Albania is advancing as a result of the positive effects of the system. On the other hand, there is an evident slowness in exploiting the system's advantages and a tendency to graft it onto forms of organization or ways of thinking inherited from the communist economy.

Property

In order to carry out a radical reform that will open up to the country the prospects of a genuine market economy, it is necessary to reconstruct relations between the state and the individual in the economic sphere. Privatization must mean the expropriation of the state for the benefit of individuals, with the political aim of creating a middle class of citizens. The AD has come out against the PD-ites' privatization without auctions, which has assumed the form of the licensed plunder of the state assets created by the unpaid labor of hundreds of thousands of working people during the communist regime. This section of the populace must gain a real benefit from state property on the basis of their years of work, in the form of direct property, shares, or bonds. It is still possible to distribute to citizens in the form of building lots portions of state-owned land around towns or in tourist areas. Shares and bonds must also be backed by at least 25 percent of the value of the assets being privatized by auction. Otherwise, they become a tool of propaganda and deception. Another great problem concerns the restitution or compensation due to those who are called old proprietors. In principle, property is sacred and eternal, and the division into old and new proprietors is one of the paradoxes we inherited from communism. The passage of time has shown that this division has formed the basis of a conflict with unforeseeable social consequences and is also a serious obstacle to the purchase and sale of land, and consequently for investment. The solution the AD has proposed aims not to leave unaffected the new proprietors, while respecting the Agrarian Reform Law and stimulating agricultural production. At the same time, our proposal is that the old proprietor should receive real compensation, by receiving his former property in the countryside wherever it is unoccupied, or by receiving compensation from the state in terms of property for property, or through genuine bonds and shares. We do not favor the reestablishment of prewar property relations, but are also against the egalitarian treatment of this problem, in which both the PD and the PS have relied on Albanian Workers Party-style propaganda about the danger of the return of the toppled classes. The property of real large-scale landowners constituted a small percentage of former property, and, in the process of its restitution, it must be subject to a democratic agrarian reform. The overwhelming majority of former landowners who lost their land in the communist reforms and who were not taken into consideration by the recent reform are small and medium-sized proprietors, i.e. a class that belongs to our party's political [word indistinct]. This is the reason why we must treat this problem seriously and devise a precise formula for the compensation of small and medium-sized properties in the countryside. It has been proposed that the AD should form a commission on this, to act as fast as possible.

The privatization of state property through the fairest possible distribution is not only a political and moral but also an economic problem. It will guarantee a part of the prosperity of Albanian citizens, and will create opportunities for them to make a start in the market economy.

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The Banks

The second parallel factor of the reform in Albania that we will propose to the electorate is freedom of action for private banks. The preservation of the state monopoly on banks is one of the main causes of the blockage of the Albanian economy. Credit policy has acquired a political hue and is favoring thieves, frauds, and adventurers. The state and semi-state banks possess neither credibility nor the operational leeway to support investment and trading operations, to absorb remittances from refugees, or to attract foreign capital. All these vital processes for our economy can only be conducted by private banks, which are seen as dangerous by the present authoritarian regime, like private radio and television stations, or the decentralization of local government.

Property ownership, i.e. the opportunity for an Albanian to mortgage, sell, or use his property as an investment, is a necessary basis for the creation of private banks in Albania, and we therefore consider these banks as fundamental factors in the formula for economic development. They will benefit from the levantine nature of our economy today, in which everybody buys and sells but few produce. This will create prospects for stemming the hemorrhage of emigration and realizing the Albanians' economic aspirations in their own country, which is without doubt a country worth living in.

Taxes

The third factor of the reform in Albania which we are proposing is the enforcement of a modern tax system, which will on the one hand ensure the functioning of the state and on the other favor economic development. We will apply direct and progressive taxation and value-added tax, diverting customs policy to a protectionist policy in favor of domestic production. The main aim of fiscal policy will be to encourage the creation of new jobs for working people on welfare, who now sell on the streets, and especially for young people who sit on the streetcorners all day. Businessmen will also be freed from cash payments at customs and border points, thus eliminating the corruption and fraud that arise at these points.

In the Albania that we are proposing to the electorate, we will aim at a totally different kind of culture from that now being created by the government. First of all, we will establish proper relations between the individual and the law, in which the law will be respected equally by everybody. We will establish social peace, not only in a national accord, but on the basis of the creation and defense of community interests, in which political diversity will not mean enmity. The doors of the nurseries, kindergartens, schools, and universities will open in order to create a civilized nation, because examples such as Austria show that the higher a people's educational level rises, the lower the unemployment rate falls. We will treat honorably intellectuals, in the broad sense of the term, because the progress, dignity, and stability of the nation depend on them. We are utterly convinced that not merely appeals to patriotism, but the creation of a peaceful, rich, and safe Albania will staunch the Albanian brain-drain and give intellectuals priority in the direction of politics, the economy, and culture. We express the conviction that Albania will be built by those who do not abandon her, but also by those who have left their country in order to return one day richer, wiser, and more confident of the future. (To be continued)

New Head of FYROM Albanian Party Interviewed

94P21049A Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 23/24 Jul 94 pp 4-5

[Interview with Abdurahman Aliti, chairman of the Party for Democratic Prosperity, by E. Azemi; place and date not given: "We Will Act With Quality and Not With Empty Promises"]

[Text] [Azemi] You are coming to the Party for Democratic Prosperity [PDP] as a chairman who does not promise, with pomposity, that he will do this or that. Should this be interpreted as a lesson, as experience from the activity of the PDP up to now, when no promise has been kept, or is it a matter of the modesty of a politician who wants to be pragmatic by his actions and not by his words?

[Aliti] Making premature and empty promises is a problem for every leader because such an activity could be counterproductive for the leader and also for the body that he leads, concretely, for the political party. I hope that in our future political activity we will adopt the following slogan: We will give witness through our works, no matter how little these works might be, without preliminary statements and big words. We will involve ourselves in actual political activity, taking advantage of real possibilities and circumstances, without abandoning scheduled commitments and political goals.

[Azemi] You are the third chairman of the PDP after the PDP has gone through internal vibrations. Is it difficult to be the leader of this party after all that has happened and how will you be able to restore its reputation and authority under conditions in which part of the membership is lined up on the other side?

[Aliti] It is true that the PDP has gone through a fine and deep crisis with internal tumult, the results of which are obvious even today. However, it is true that, after the Congress which was held ahead of schedule, the maximum efforts were made to consolidate the party ranks and to build the party structure on the basis of the provisions of the Statute and other documents dealing with internal party organization. I have no illusion that this party will regain the authority and support which it had in the beginning, because, at that time, it was operating in a different political environment. Its members and supporters expected miracles from it. It was thought that all the injustices which the Albanian people

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had suffered several decades earlier would be eliminated in a very short time. As a result, the party ranks included individuals and groups with very great differences in political views, without much concern for the scheduled commitments of the party, people and groups motivated by the desire that the Albanian issue be resolved immediately, once and for all. For these and other reasons, some of the members and supporters became dissatisfied and others fell in line, which, in my opinion, is not so tragic because it is a matter of the shaping of political activity and opinion.

Therefore, the PDP, which, in the beginning, was more of a people's movement, took form as a political party with clear tasks and aims. Certainly, in the future, it will have problems of an organizational nature and also problems related to the manner of political activity. The maximum efforts are being made to ensure that the forms of activity are the expression of the will of the majority in the party organs and to ensure that we respect the positions and decisions which have been approved until they are changed in a democratic and legal manner. In other words, we pledge that we will respect decisions and carry out discipline in concrete actions.

[Azemi] We know you as a deputy prudent in appearance and with precise political evaluations. Can we expect the leader of the PDP to be the same? Or, perhaps, the logic of party activity will impose some other operating style. In a word, how will you balance the deputy and the chairman simultaneously?

[Aliti] The duties of chairman and deputy are complementary. Everywhere in the world, and also here in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], chairmen of parties are also deputies, ministers, and so forth. The aim of a political party is participation in the government and it is natural that party chairmen should be in positions of leadership in the government and even in positions which are incompatible with membership in a political party. I think that I will not have much difficulty in coordinating my activities as party chairman and deputy because I think that there should not be any serious differences in my mode of action. A chairman or a deputy might be prudent but he might also be a populist; it is up to him which road to choose.

[Azemi] How do refute the claim of some foreign diplomats that "Albanians do not know what they want"?

[Aliti] Albanians have always known what they want and they have told others what they want, in clear terms. All those who should and want to know what Albanians want know this. It is another matter whether they like what the Albanians want. Since we are talking about demands, please allow me to digress, for the sake of clarity. Albanians do not have their list of demands. They have defined their position and have never demanded anything from anyone. In their political activity, they will take what belongs to them. Therefore the views of the PDP are not oriented so as to demand something from others and to be dependent on others, giving others or not giving others what they demand. The party must operate so as to obtain everything which we believe belongs to us.

[Azemi] In its activity up to now, the PDP has been able to shape a most progressive consciousness for Albanians and for others. What can we hope for in the future? In what direction will you orient party policy and how far will this go in the elaboration of political options? Will there be a new platform?

[Aliti] We will try, in an energetic and high-quality manner, to define the programs which we will present in an election platform and we will persevere in implementing this platform in the near future. There will be nothing completely new and unknown. I am aware that, recently, some political competitors have begun to boast that they will offer some sort of global, historic agreement regarding Albanian-Macedonian relations, which would be a good idea. If this concept of an agreement were to be of higher quality that a statement on the equality of Albanians with Macedonians, then we would certainly support it. If not, we would ask them to support us.

The matter of options is not something that is presented once and for all. The option in force, on the state-forming status of the Albanians, is the result of analyses and evaluations made at a concrete time and under concrete conditions. In principle, options can change. If the government in Macedonia puts up unreasonable resistance to our just and real commitments, then there will be an increase in the number of those demands whose solution must be sought in some other way. I, personally, feel that the government should not oblige Albanian political forces to seek any other solution. The greater the resistance of the government to the rational activity of the Albanian political forces, the weaker the resistance of Macedonia to the plotting and scheming from outside the country.

[Azemi] The PDP is in a governmental coalition with three other Macedonian parties. Some call this an unnatural coalition. On their part, Albanians expressed dissatisfaction with the failure to satisfy some of the demands or the slow progress in satisfying them (higher education, increasing the number of radio and television programs, the diplomatic service, staffing of some institutions, etc). With the attitude up to now in the coalition and with a positive vote for the government, the PDP must wait for the coming elections to achieve success. Is this the price of the support given to the government?

[Aliti] I do not believe that anything has remained unsaid in regard to the coalition. The Albanian parties have criticized us and are criticizing us and so have other parties, saying that the coalition is unnatural. But they do not say what would be natural. They say that the PDP coalition has caused direct damage to the Albanian cause in Macedonia but they do not specify what the damage was and what the benefits would be if there were no coalition. It is true that the scheduled tasks were not achieved when the party entered into the coalition, since this was impossible. No political party can carry out scheduled tasks for three or four years. If this were not the case, there would be no need for a political party to exist and it would be dissolved.

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In the Macedonian-language press, there have been speculations that the support given to the government by the parliamentary group is subject to concrete conditions. This is not true. We support the government because if the government should fall it would be worse than if it remains in power. We believe that it would not be good for Albanian political forces if, in the coming elections, another government should come into power, one which is an expression of the ratio of the forces of Macedonian political parties in parliament. Certainly, in such a government, there would be more representatives of a political party which has stated many times that it would not allow a Macedonian-Albanian government to win the elections and has sought a national consensus for the formation of a national salvation government and which divides the citizens of Macedonia in two categories: those who will enjoy all rights and others who have rights according to international conventions, as they interpret these conventions.

[Azemi] In recent months we have witnessed certain zig-zags in the behavior of the Albanian parliamentary group. The uninformed might not be able to understand some activities of this group, especially when one action is contrary to another action. How much influence does the party have in this area and what will the situation be in the future? Will the practice be repeated?

[Aliti] The [Albanian] parliamentary group in Parliament has operated on the basis of its own analyses and evaluations. I think that there have not been any mistakes in the activity of the parliamentary group although, at first sight, some of its actions might seem controversial. It should be taken into consideration that, because decisions are not made by consensus in Parliament, the PDP parliamentary group has been forced to apply various forms of pressure which are known in parliamentary life everywhere.

The political party, mainly, its leadership, must make a principled decision on whether or not to enter into a coalition on issues of great political importance. But the parliamentary group must decide, autonomously, on a concrete activity and form of activity.

[Azemi] Since part of the membership is in the diaspora, could you state your views in regard to the party organization in the diaspora.

[Aliti] The party organization in the diaspora was established at a specific time and on the basis of evaluations at that time. I think this matter should be reviewed and all ethnic Albanian political parties which have a party organization outside the country should be in agreement on this matter. I hope that it will be possible to achieve an inter-party agreement on this subject so that political parties will not contribute to the division of Albanians outside the country on the basis of party lines. Therefore, new forms must be found for this organization.

[Azemi] The impression exists that the PDP has abandoned the youth, women's activities, and the villages. What can we expect in this direction in the future?

[Aliti] Your question is justified. In the program there is talk about the youth, about women's activities, and about the villages but, in practical political activity, very little has been done in this direction. Some political parties have experience in organizing the youth where they recruited cadres whom they trained earlier. I think that such forms of organization should not be neglected. The political organization of women should be redefined. Personally, I am opposed to the organization of women by any political party. Such organizations must be independent, not under the umbrella of any political organization, while the woman, as an individual, should be included in the ranks of the party organization, as an equal member.

[Azemi] As newly elected chairman of the PDP, how will you organize the elite party team, that is, the professional segment, and can we expect the reactivization of an ancient idea of the formation of a group of elders, a professional body composed of experts in different fields, which will help the party leadership to carry out its work successfully?

[Aliti] The elite party team is elected by the Central Assembly. The party leadership needs professionals in various fields. I am taking advantage of this opportunity to invite all those who can give and want to give professional assistance to become party members. We need new forces and new ideas.

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Fatherland Union Members Form Political Party

AU1208192194 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] The political association called Union for the Fatherland [Suyuz za otechestvoto] held its constituent meeting in Sofia today. Ginvo Ganev, hitherto chairman of the Fatherland Union, was elected as the new union's chairman.

The 157 persons who attended the constituent meeting adopted a statute for the new party and approved its supreme organ, the National Assembly. The statute declares that the party will fight to preserve the unity of Bulgarian statehood and for the social survival of the Bulgarian people.

RDP, Christian Democrats Election Agreement

AU1208200394 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] The Radical Democratic Party and the United Christian Democratic Center have proposed a draft political agreement between the member parties of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Bulgarian National Radio has received a copy of the document.

The document, signed by the two parties' leaders, Aleksandur Yordanov and Stefan Sofiyanski, lists a number of conditions for ensuring that the SDS wins the forthcoming parliamentary elections that should form the subject of the agreement.

The draft document points out that the SDS should fight the forthcoming elections as a coalition of parties acting within the framework of the existing SDS statute. The SDS should guarantee that the coalition partners are represented in all the structures of power, should fight the elections with a unified program and a single list of National Assembly candidates. The program should be drafted on the basis of the program intentions of the individual parties, while the criteria for selection of National Assembly candidates should be based on the decisions of the Sixth SDS National Conference and the qualifications of each candidate for election under the majority system, irrespective of the actual electoral system used.

The SDS is to work out a mechanism for nominating as National Assembly candidates persons who are not members of parties in the SDS coalition. The SDS supports a policy of seeking agreements with other anticommunist political parties with the aim of achieving a specific goal. The SDS advocates forming an independent coalition government after winning the elections. Depending on the election results, the SDS is also prepared to form a coalition government with other democratic parties that obtain parliamentary seats. The only party with which the SDS cannot form a coalition government is the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

According to the draft document, in the event of winning an absolute majority in the parliamentary elections, the chairman of the SDS National Coordinating Council should be elected to serve as prime minister.

The document describes the listed conditions as a guarantee for election success and for a stable democratic rule of the country during the next four years.

Adviser Explains Civilian Control Over Army

AU1208164894 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 9 Aug 94 pp 1,3

[Interview with Rumen Kunchev, adviser to the National Assembly chairman on national security, by Georgi Kardanov; place and date not given: "Parliament Is a Principal Element in Civil Control Over the Army"]

[Text] [Kardanov] Mr. Kunchev, in our modern civil society, how does parliament exercise its control over the Army?

[Kunchev] In a democratic society, the institution of the army is a subject of particular attention, because the army should stand outside party-political struggles and bias. Essentially, the main task in exercising civil control over the army is to ensure that the army is depoliticized and free of party influence, so that it serves only the country's interests and guarantees our national security, sovereignty, and territorial integrity. Parliament effects its control firstly through the budget and, secondly, through the parliamentary commissions: on national security, budget and finance, the defense industry, and so on. Whereas the budget provides the financial structure for the army's development, the parliamentary commissions implement control more on a day-to-day basis, with the aim of ensuring that parliamentary deputies are clearly informed about the activities of the institutions that are charged with guaranteeing the country's national security and defense.

[Kardanov] Everyone says that the Army budget that parliament voted is insufficient. Do you see any unutilized resources for increasing the funds needed to maintain the Armed Forces and ensure their combat readiness?

[Kunchev] Our country is in a serious economic crisis, and this affects all the components of the social system, including the Army, unfortunately. I think that it is unrealistic to expect any financial support through the budget. However, the Defense Ministry has properties at its disposal that, if a correct policy is carefully thought out, may be used as an additional source of substantial income. The Army is not a holding company or a limited company, but it can organize some of the land, forests, buildings, stores, and so on much more rationally so as to earn income from them. In my view, there is no sense in disbanding the Construction Troops, who could also earn money for the army; it is only necessary to organize this branch as well as possible and utilize it for the country's defense needs as well.

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[Kardanov] Mr. Kunchev, it seems that everyone is interested in passing the defense and armed forces bill as soon as possible. Who has reservations about this, and what are they?

[Kunchev] It seems to me that all the political forces want the Defense and Armed Forces Bill adopted, but they are guided by different interests. It is difficult to achieve a political consensus, and this is what has delayed and is still delaying the law. Unfortunately, this has been the situation since 1992, when the first version of the bill was prepared, which did not differ radically from the current version. It contained a number of weaknesses, and the present one does too. Nevertheless, I think that the political forces are now much more aware that it is better to have a law than to continue debating it and adding the final touches. In any case, the political force that disagrees with the law today can amend its passages in the future, when it wins the elections.

[Kardanov] A few days ago you returned from Sinaya in Romania, where you attended a NATO seminar on regional security and cooperation in Central Europe. What questions were discussed there, and did they have any connection with national security?

[Kunchev] Yes, this was a seminar to which members of parliament and specialists from NATO's North Atlantic Assembly were invited to discuss security problems. Individual countries explained their positions regarding security in the region and Central Europe quite freely. The participants were impressed by the extremely clear and unequivocal stance of the Russian delegation on security issues and the question of NATO membership. There was also a further aspect, namely that for the countries of Eastern Europe, security today is primarily an economic problem, and only secondarily a political and military one. This means that these countries, which include our own, should pay very serious attention to the methods used to promote their economic development, including at the regional level, that is, they should seek security and stability through regional partnership in the economic field.

Manager Views Kozloduy Nuclear Plant's Future

AU1208164494 Sofia NOVINI 5 in Bulgarian 9 Aug 94 p 2

[Interview with Kozma Kuzmanov, general manager of the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, by NOVINI 5 representative Tsvetana Markova in Kozloduy; date not given: "We May Have Electricity Rationing"]

[Text] [Markova] Mr. Kuzmanov, Bulgaria has now had a nuclear plant for 20 years. What does the balance sheet look like? Can we be satisfied with the achievements to date?

[Kuzmanov] The fact that the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant is celebrating its 20th anniversary shows that it has utilized all its production capacity to supply the country with a vast amount of electric power, already more than 200 billion kilowatt-hours, at a low production cost. This is power produced without causing pollution and without destroying land, in contrast to the coal-fired thermal power plants. The Kozloduy Plant holds a fundamental position in the Bulgarian energy industry and the country's economy. I am convinced that our staff will continue to defend this position in the future, as they have done so far. We are marking our 20th anniversary, and this occasion, more than any other, prompts us to make an assessment of the past, during which it must be said that everything was not always rosy. First, I hope that our people have realized that a nuclear electric power plant should only be operated under safe conditions. If this is not guaranteed, the plant is shut down. This was why the No. 1 and 2 generating units were taken out of service in 1991, which led to electricity cuts and rationing in the winter of 1991-92, because the national grid lost an energy source that produced 880 megawatts.

[Markova] Are the achievements of our nuclear plant commensurable with world standards and requirements?

[Kuzmanov] Yes. I told you about safety with regard to the old section of the plant. The two new 1,000-megawatt units are up to world standards, while the four older ones fully conform to modern requirements. However, we still have work to do. We have to perfect the organization of our work and management and make our work more efficient. If one compares Kozloduy with the Finnish plant at Loviza, we can see that we still have much to do.

[Markova] What has to be done before the year's end to ensure that work proceeds normally?

[Kuzmanov] The most important things have to be completed by the end of September, not before the end of the year, namely maintenance work. Unfortunately, the severe financial crisis affecting the country and the unwillingness of certain government institutions to understand the state of our energy industry and the Kozloduy Plant have already seriously hampered the timely completion of the repair work. The work is almost a month late, and it will be no surprise if electricity supplies have to be restricted this year because of our inability to recommission the units in good time.

[Markova] What has happened to the equipment, has it been released from customs?

[Kuzmanov] No, it is still lying there waiting. We are waiting to hold talks with senior Finance Ministry officials, but unfortunately they are unwilling to see us. Maybe something will be done, but in my opinion it is too late now. Whatever problems may exist in a country, it is shocking that the people at the top, especially in the executive, fail to take account of circumstances and fail to consider the energy industry.

[Markova] Are you troubled by what your opponents write about you in the newspapers?

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[Kuzmanov] No, I can say that I am not alarmed when personal attacks are made on me. The years that I have devoted to the Bulgarian energy industry and my white hairs entitle me not to give any answer to these reports and articles—I mean the ones regarding me personally. If there is any instance of me having acted wrongly, there are leaderships that stand above me. There are judicial organs and the prosecution service, which can have their say. I am glad to answer when anyone, without hidden designs, directs comments to us or to me personally as a manager.

[Markova] What future awaits the Kozloduy Plant, in your opinion?

[Kuzmanov] I see the plant's future as a continuous process of improving safety standards and raising the awareness of safety issues, the level of training, and the literacy of our staff who operate these complex installations. Its future also lies in improving production efficiency, in which I include exploiting the plant's installations to the maximum. The Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant has its place in Bulgaria's energy production. It not only has a present, but also a future. The country simply needs it.

[Markova] Do you support the early closure of the No. 1 and 2 nuclear generating units, Mr. Kuzmanov?

[Kuzmanov] Absolutely not. However, if circumstances require it, we will have to close them down. Our task is not merely to produce, but to produce in safe conditions. The No. 1 and 2 units are designed to operate until 2004 or 2005, but there are certain problems that we still have to solve.

Commentary Views 'Tragic' Agricultural 'Decline'

AU1208164694 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 9 Aug 94 p 1

[Commentary by Rumyana Penkova: "If We Do Not Have Enough Grain, Why Not Eat Cake?"]

[Text] The Bulgarian citizens, being part of the French speaking countries' community, should perfectly realize that if they have no bread, they should eat cake. As early as one year ago, when the government imported rotten grain from the United States, it clearly transpired what would happen in the future, because along with the imported grain, the ban on Bulgarian grain and grain product exports, which was imposed by the United States, was accepted without any objection. Thus, the truth that the current tragedy of our grain producers was deliberately planned in advance became evident. This is how the cabinet members crowned the tragic history of our agricultural decline. The peasants remained without money and without equipment, while, unfortunately, none of our new businessmen thought of producing primitive agricultural tools. They did not come with the humanitarian aid either.

Our statesmen rushed to the peasants' rescue by introducing some sort of miserable, minimal purchasing price for the harvest, which proved to be a bluff, because it was not based on any guarantees. It enraged the peasants so much that they threatened to burn the harvest. The highranking gentlemen from the government did not show themselves in the least disturbed by this threat, and headed by the agriculture minister, they went to enjoy their holidays at the seaside. Now they are preparing new instructions on further grain imports, because the Bulgarian wheat is allegedly rotting and sprouting. Nevertheless, on the other hand, since we have to eat cake anyway, why not import them as well?

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Zieleniec Discusses Relations With Germany

AU1208165194 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Aug 94 pp 1-2

[Article by "alm": "Zieleniec: The Response From Germany to Havel's Apology Is Not Adequate"]

[Text] The response from Germany to Havel's apology is not adequate. Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec (Civic Democratic Party) made this statement on the 7 August "Debate" program on CT1.

"It is so, however, in foreign politics that you have a partner who has his own interests, and it is my task to advocate and defend our interests," Zieleniec added. According to him, it is necessary that both the German Government and we agree on an interpretation of the past." He described the property-related issues and matters of the claims by the Czech citizens persecuted during World War II as open topics of Czech-German relations. According to Zieleniec, the constants of Czech foreign policy are the "irrevocability of the consequences of World War II, the firm limit to the restitution of 25 February 1948, etc."

Zieleniec said there is absolutely no reason to claim that the Czech Government would yield to the property claims of the Sudeten Germans. He thus responded to the statement by Milos Zeman, chairman of the Czech Social Democratic Party: "In the first stage, we will be assured that it is not a property issue, and then, in some third or fourth stage, we will learn that it is precisely a property issue, and we will give in again."

In the context of the strengthening of Germany, Zieleniec said: "The power politics of a large state is nothing extraordinary in itself. It is a fact with which we must come to terms." He added that "this does not necessarily mean any fundamental danger to us." To the question of whether the Czech Republic will be an equal partner to Germany, Zieleniec replied: "How equal can a country of 10 million be in relation with a country of tens of millions more?" In response to another question, of whether there are any safety valves against the negative influence of power politics, Zieleniec said that the endeavors by Europe to find such an arrangement that will prevent the return of historical schemes is the main idea of building the European Union.

Zieleniec stated that the Terezin incident would affect Czech-German relations "if it were not clearly renounced by both representatives of the political sphere and citizens, and if no action were taken against the inactive policemen." According to Zieleniec, the left wing—the Left Bloc and the Czech Social Democratic Party were named—is trying to use Czech-German relations to cast doubts on the possibility of integration into Europe, of which Germany is also a part.

"I would very much like to see Chancellor Kohl in Lidice [village razed to the ground by Germans in retaliation for the assassination of Reichsprotektor Heydrich in 1942], and I would consider it an act of reconciliation or the beginning of this process," Czech Social Democratic Party Chairman Zeman said on "Debate." According to him, Havel's apology to Germany was not a "fortunate gesture, albeit certainly well intended. It was unfortunate, above all, because, instead of arousing an adequate response on the part of the official German policy, it provoked the ever-growing self-confidence of the Sudeten German Landsmannschaft and of F. Neubauer [Sudeten German spokesman] in particular," Zeman said. According to Deputy M. Capek (Left Bloc), an adequate response to Havel's apology from the German side is missing.

Capek said that Police President Novotny should resign over the Terezin incident. One of the organizers of the commemorative act in Terezin, R. Zoubek, said that the National Cemetery in Terezin and the Usti nad Labem bridge area were selected as representative for all the sites where violence took place. "We were not concerned with any specific groups of victims; we were concerned with victims of national and racial hatred. We chose these localities simply because of their proximity," Zoubek concluded.

Russian Embassy Denies Report of Criminal Action

AU1208154294 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by "(ic)": "Russian Embassy Rejects DENNI TELEGRAF Fabrications"]

[Text] The Russian Embassy in Prague on 4 August rejected DENNI TELEGRAF articles about the alleged activity of Russian criminal structures in the Czech Republic and their partnership with Chemapol.

In a statement provided to RUDE PRAVO, the embassy demands specific evidence from Czech security and other relevant bodies about this criminal activity so that the Russian side may prevent this activity, if it exists. This is a reaction to Thursday's articles entitled "Russians Trading in Crude Oil in the Czech Republic Are Cheating, Lebedev Affirms", and "Chemapol's Strange Partners." The first article, based on the Russian paper IZVESTIYA, states that Ambassador Lebedev gave as evidence of suspicious behavior of former Russian state employees the example of Mr. M., who, for several years at the Russian commercial representation office in Prague, was responsible for concluding contracts and for crude oil deliveries to the Czech Republic. In the second article, DENNI TELEGRAF established a link between the IZVESTIYA article and the discussion about possible influence of the Russian mafia on the Czech petrochemical industry in the case of the so-called Czech Way of the privatization of this industrial sector.

According to Lebedev, IZVESTIYA did not publish an interview with him, but material written by a reporter called Kornilov. This material contains a number of

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inaccuracies. For instance, Mr. M. did live in Prague, but he has never been engaged in crude oil deliveries. The embassy stated that DENNI TELEGRAF's attempts to link examples given in IZVESTIA to the activity of Chemapol are pure fabrication. IZVESTIYA does not mention this link at all. It is unfair, to say the least, to refer to the Russian ambassador in order to confirm the rumors of the penetration of the Russian mafia into the Czech petrochemical industry, the Russian Embassy statement says.

CSSD Announces Membership Reaches 11,000

AU1208154094 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Aug 94 p 2

[Article by "(tn)" in the "By Telegraph" column]

[Text] The number of Czech Social Democratic Party [CSSD] members has increased by more than 9 percent since the beginning of the year and has reached 11,000, CSSD Deputy Chairman Jaromir Kuca told journalists in Ostravo on 4 August. He also said that the CSSD has a total of 14 regional organizations in the Czech Republic.

Unemployment Increases Slightly in Jul

AU1208155694 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY (KORUNA supplement) in Czech 6 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by "(hm)": "Two Applicants for One Opening"]

[Text] Prague—In the course of July, labor offices added 31,000 new job applicants to their records. This is 750 more than in June. On the other hand, 25,900 applicants were taken off the records, of whom more than 18,000 found a new job by themselves or through labor offices. According to information provided by the Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, the number of placed applicants, as well as applicants taken off the records, shows a declining trend compared with the preceding months. Labor offices have crossed 2,700 people off the records for noncooperation and the remaining 5,200 for other reasons—for example, because of maternity leave, retirement, etc.

As of 31 July, the highest rate of unemployment was in Novy Jicin district (7.5 percent), while, in the Bruntal and Karvina districts, it declined to 6.8 percent (2 percent decline). The largest increase in the unemployment rate was, apart from Hradec Kralove, in Pisek (19.1 percent growth), Havlickuv Brod (18.1 percent), Zdar nad Sazavou (12.8 percent), and Prachatice (10.7 percent). A total of 15 districts had more than 5 percent of able-bodied people out of work at the end of July. In addition to Novy Jicin, Bruntal, and Karvina districts, Prerov (6.5 percent), Louny (6.2 percent), and Vsetin (6.0 percent) had unemployment rates of over 6 percent. The lowest unemployment rate remains in Prague (0.2 percent). There was also an unemployment rate of under 1 percent in the Prague-West district (0.7 percent), Karlovy Vary, and Prague-East (0.8 percent). Because there are 81,300 open positions and 165,202 registered unemployed people, it follows that there were two job applicants for one open position in the Czech Republic at the end of July.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 6 August on page 2 carries a 100-word "hck"-attributed report on the development of unemployment in July, which notes that the 5,000 increase in the number of registered job applicants in July translates into an increase of the unemployment rate from 3.1 percent at the end of June to 3.2 percent at the end of July.]

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Pittner Comments on Cooperation With FBI

AU1208185694 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Aug 94 p 2

[Interview with Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner by Jan Skoda on 5 August; place not given: "Partnership With the FBI; Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner Has Left for the United States"]

[Text] Early last week, the British REUTER Agency published information that was based on statements made to it by Slovak Interior Minister Ladislav Pittner. On 5 August, two days before his departure for a working visit to the United States, we asked him to explain some of the formulations he used.

[Skoda] One part of the report is connected with Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn's visit. You supposedly said that the readmission agreement with Hungary "can be signed only after the elections." Yet the readmission agreement is being signed right now....

[Pittner] The readmission agreement is of great importance to Slovakia. As such an agreement did not exist, we have been unable to return to the Hungarian side those illegal migrants from third countries who had come here from Hungarian territory. The readmission agreement that has been subject of talks between Slovak and Hungarian experts has not been prepared on the same scale as similar agreements we have concluded with other countries, in which there is a deadline of 90 days for returning third-country nationals. In the agreement now being signed, the Hungarian side proposes a deadline of only 48 hours, but even that marks considerable progress, and it is possible to give consent to such an agreement. By its signing, a highly desirable situation will arise for us, which will allow the Slovak side to meet obligations we have toward other states.

[Skoda] Could you specify what kind of assistance the U.S. FBI has requested from Slovakia? According to the REUTER agency, we already cooperate with the FBI on two criminal cases....

[Pittner] The British agency's report concerned only one aspect of these relations. As regards the June visit to Slovakia by FBI Director Louis Freeh and my present invitation to the United States, they are based on mutual cooperation. Within the framework of this cooperation, we are interested in the training of our specialists in the sphere of struggle against organized crime, be it drug-trafficking, terrorism, or other forms. On the other hand, the FBI is interested in cooperation with our security bodies. That was also the motive for Mr. Freeh's visit to Slovakia and other countries of Central and East Europe—to exchange information that would serve to guarantee U.S. security. It is becoming apparent that mafias from the countries of the former Soviet Union are teaming up with mafias in the West. It is therefore very important for our partners that all of the information we have about these mafias should get from Slovakia into the FBI's data base and archives. In other words, we are talking about mutual cooperation and not about a one-way street. The two specific operations mentioned concern one of the forms of organized crime.

[Skoda] In the interview for REUTER, you also said that Slovakia was being used as a throughway for a great number of weapons and plutonium. What is the origin of this plutonium, who is transporting it, and what is its destination?

[Pittner] Certain illegal groups of citizens of the former Soviet Union have established themselves in Slovakia. We are learning about them sporadically—from intelligence sources, during random security operations against various forms of blackmail (racketeering), or when suppressing drug-trafficking. We do not know the destination of the smuggled weapons and plutonium. Everything suggests that it is West Europe, from where, however, this cargo could be shipped to countries that cannot gain access to such weapons by legal means....

[Skoda] Are you also referring to the alleged presence of Slovak weapons in the former Yugoslavia?

[Pittner] Yes, they could get there precisely through such channels. As regards plutonium, the point of destination need not be any Western country but, possibly, some other country that is interested in obtaining this strategic commodity in conjunction with its secret building of a nuclear arsenal.

Proposal for Armed Forces Operations Approved

AU1208125394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Aug 94 pp 1-2

[Article by Juraj Alner: "A Further 1.2 Billion Korunas Have Been Earmarked From the Budget for Social Care"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—On the basis of the proposal approved at yesterday's session of the Slovak Government, the Slovak Armed Forces, within the framework of the Partnership for Peace, will be able to conduct exercises outside the territory of the Slovak Republic; Slovak Army servicemen will be able to take part in UN, European Union, and CSCE peacekeeping forces; units from foreign armed forces and UN personnel will be able to carry out short-term exercises on Slovak territory; and the transportation of military units from foreign states across our territory will be possible.

This decision is not entirely in harmony with Article 86, Paragraph 1 of the Slovak Constitution. According to Defense Minister Pavol Kanis, "the present world is different from the one in which many states formulated their constitutions." This situation will obviously open the way for the debate associated with the rapprochement between the legal orders of the Slovak Republic and the European Union. In connection with the complex rapprochement, the government has appointed Foreign Ministry State Secretary Lubomir Bystricky chairman of the Government Council for Implementing the European Agreement.

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The government has given its permission for the budget to be exceeded by 1.2 billion korunas [Sk], instead of the proposed Sk1.9 billion, for social care benefits until the end of the year. The money will be drawn from the reserves. [passage omitted]

The government states in a supplementary communique that, from the 1992 election until the change of government, there were 80 instances within the Finance Ministry when financial resources were expended without authorization, uneconomically, or incorrectly. The individual sums amount to tens of millions of korunas. According to Rudolf Filkus, the Finance Ministry should put forward comprehensive draft measures next week.

Kovac Blames Meciar for Country's Poor Image

AU1308142094 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Aug 94 p 9

[First of two installments of "highlights" of "discussion" with Slovak President Michal Kovac in Bratislava; date not given: "President Michal Kovac: Slovakia Has a Future"—reprinted from HLAS LUDU No. 174]

[Text] *The [West Slovak regional] daily HLAS LUDU [People's Voice], which is published by the DANUBIAPRINT state enterprise, has published a series of discussions with prominent Slovak personalities from various walks of life, entitled "HL's Guest in Maria Theresa." The culmination of the series was a discussion with the president of the Slovak Republic. The discussion, which took place in the Primatial Palace, was attended by S. Srnik, director general of DANUBIAPRINT; HL chief editor P. Dinko; proprietor of the Maria Theresa restaurant B. Javorek; and essayist G. Penkovsky. Like HLAS LUDU, we will publish the highlights of the extensive transcript of this discussion in two installments.*

[HLAS LUDU] Do you consider Slovakia's becoming independent to be beneficial?

[Kovac] Definitely. I never doubted that the nation living in Slovakia was ripe for its own state sovereignty. I was extremely fond of the solution that was agreed upon in 1968, before the Soviet troops' invasion—a loose federal arrangement. Incidentally, that also applied to banking. It was my longing that we achieve equality with the Czech Republic and that Slovakia become a subject under international law. That is also why I found the concept of a confederative setup that we had adopted in the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] satisfactory. I gave everything I could to achieve this goal. I knew that, at that time, there was no other political entity that would be capable of coming near the realization of this idea. I expressed my ideas on this matter in public as Federal Assembly deputy in November 1990 at the rally for Slovakia's sovereignty held at Slovak National Uprising Square in September 1991 and on many other occasions.

[HLAS LUDU] The range of the president's activities is immensely wide. Could you characterize the way you approach your activities?

[Kovac] I bear in mind two important things, which I frequently emphasize. My task is to contribute to the atmosphere in our society changing for the better. For the time being, this atmosphere is not good. At moments when it becomes more creative and calm, it helps remove the mist with which our image is covered abroad. And that is my second duty: To create Slovakia's good image and make Slovakia appear as a good and reliable partner.

[HLAS LUDU] When was your situation in this regard the most complicated?

[Kovac] It became very complicated before the change of government. Whether Former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar likes it or not, I literally had to correct our country's negative image that was taking shape, rightly or unjustifiedly, be it through journalistic or diplomatic channels. This found an expression in conversations of diplomats with our state officials. With the coming of Moravcik's government, the situation started to improve, and I have found myself in an easier position. The government's actions are being acknowledged abroad, and I am trying to assure my partners that this is not a brief episode but a democratic process. Slovakia wants to keep abreast of the other states of the Visegrad Group. We have to convince others of this so that foreign statesmen do not speak about only three countries [Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland], as they used to on various occasions, but also about Slovakia....

[HLAS LUDU] Almost everywhere one goes people discuss the merits of the Meciar and Moravcik governments. Some people appreciate the former, others the latter. Many people ask in this context whether the present government is winning for Slovakia its positive image by its decisions and conduct or just by means of some proclamations of its members that are accepted "abroad," while actual policy need not necessarily correspond to them....

[Kovac] In my opinion, it is due to both the government's actions and its proclamations. Everyone wants to know who represents our policy. The representatives of our policy and their conduct in public, but also elsewhere are being monitored. If the representatives of a country are trusted, so is the country itself. However, that would not be enough. There are objective indicators, on the basis of which views about us are being formed. The information that in industry the privatized and private sector accounts for only 25 percent of the generated gross domestic product, while, in the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary, this share is substantially bigger, will not convince foreign partners that we are keeping abreast of the other countries. Obviously, the government is held responsible for this. Likewise, we cannot keep secret the fact that last year we had a state budget deficit of 23 billion Slovak korunas, and something on top of that, and the like.

[HLAS LUDU] Did you have an opportunity to experience this in your specific contacts?

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[Kovac] Following my meetings with Clinton, several ministers, and the president of the World Bank during my working visit to the United States, I had talks with the U.S. vice president. I was singing a song about Slovakia pursuing the democratic path and about there not being any differences between us and the other countries of Central and East Europe and, if there were any, then only as a result of the fact that individual political entities did not have sufficiently clear-cut profiles. Al Gore told me in reply that, a few days before, he was reading in our media an interview with then Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, in which he contended that we would pursue neither the socialist nor the capitalist path. Gore asked what path we would then actually take. I tried to present Vladimir Meciar's statement in a more moderate light. At home I then saw that he was thinking of 19th century capitalism, but this only became clear from the context. He who saw only the pertinent passage must have been struck by it.

[HLAS LUDU] Apparently our politicians should pay more heed to what they say. All of them....

[Kovac] Ultimately, people abroad will say they do not care where Slovakia is heading. However, we could isolate ourselves in this way. Even now, according to a recent decision of the U.S. Senate, we will have to wait before we get anything for free from the discarded U.S. military equipment. We cannot be indifferent to what others think about us. The president must be sensitive to those issues, for the sake of Slovakia, for the sake of our citizens becoming better off.

[HLAS LUDU] What images appear before your eyes on hearing the word Slovakia? Assess, please, its development in the period of independence. And what are its chances in the future, in your opinion?

[Kovac] Slovakia as a sovereign state and, as a legal subject under international law, had been my ideal long before I got to know Vladimir Meciar and others. As an employee of the former Czechoslovak State Bank, I was in charge of comparing developments in the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. At a meeting of the Communist Party of Slovakia Central Committee Presidium that was chaired by Alexander Dubcek, we submitted a paper, for the first time in history, that demonstrated that the gap between the two republics was widening. In short, a Slovakia that rules itself and that is firmly embedded in the international community has been my ideal for a long time. Therefore, the fact that I belong to those who have had a share in consummating the process of becoming independent fills me with satisfaction. It is not objective and not true when someone links this process exclusively to Vladimir Meciar. It is important that, with Vladimir Meciar at the head and with the participation of others, it was possible, initially in the HZDS, to arrive at the decision to set up a sovereign state and, subsequently, to realize this decision on the basis of election results, naturally in negotiations with the Czech Republic.

Daily Questions 'Major Success' of Horn Visit

AU1208155894 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 Aug 94 p 3

[Commentary by Juraj Fuchs: "Horn's Denials Have Frozen Their Smiles"]

[Text] This government considers it a major success that it managed to persuade Prime Minister Gyula Horn to make an official visit to the Slovak Republic before the election. The provisional government has tried to make preelection capital out of the visit.

The news conference with the two prime ministers was held in a show of professional smiles. However, reporters found out during a briefing that Horn did not budge an inch on the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros issue and that, with regard to the minorities, he also spoke about some kind of collective rights for them. That is, in essence, he is sticking to the stance adopted by the previous governments of J. Antall and P. Boross. The only concession Horn made was in connection with the statements by Former Prime Ministers Antall and Boross that they considered themselves to be the prime ministers of 15 million Hungarians—that is, of our Hungarian minority, too. He realized the unacceptability of such a point of view and declared that he is the prime minister of only 10 million but that he also feels responsible for the minorities abroad. As far as the unilateral abrogation of the interstate treaty on Gabcikovo-Nagymaros is concerned, it is necessary to understand that Horn also played a role in it on 27 May 1990. In reply to a question from our daily on whether he considers it to be necessary for the new parliament to annul the decree of the former parliament on Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, he even went as far as to declare that he will not ask for this decree to be changed and that the demolition of Nagymaros will continue.

Despite this, the press biased toward the provisional government described the Horn-Moravcik meeting as a success, until all of a sudden it got a cold shower. Horn officially denied the statement made by President Kovac and broadcast by the mass media that Horn, on behalf of his government, had asked for our forgiveness for the wrongs committed by Hungarians against Slovaks. On the contrary, apparently he was the one who had talked about the need to ask for forgiveness for what had happened to the Hungarians in connection with the Benes Decrees. The office of President Michal Kovac again rejected this denial.

Whom should we believe? The smiles on the face of the provisional government, feigning its ability to make peace and conclude a basic treaty with Hungary, were completely frozen following the denial from Budapest.

Drive To Cancel Election Said Under Way

AU1208165094 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak 11 Aug p 1

[Article by Viera Urbanova: "A Petition Drive in Parliament to Call Off the Early Elections"]

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[Text] Bratislava—After the makeshift allies took over the helm of government in March, reports began to emerge that an early election would be held next year or not at all. Such opinions did not die down even after the fall date for the election to the Slovak parliament was announced.

The completion of the lists of candidates as well as the realization that some political entities may not have a place on the deputies' benches after 1 October (collecting the 10,000 signatures necessary for entering into the electoral ring has taxed the strength of some of them) are probably behind the newest parliamentary initiative. We have ascertained that deputies' signatures are being collected behind the parliamentary scenes to postpone the early election. We did not avoid this issue in an interview with Former Prime Minister and Deputy Vladimir Meciar. He told us: "I was informed of this petition drive recently. So far, 40 National Council of the Slovak Republic deputies have signed it; however, I do not know which deputies and parties are involved."

Formation of 'National Bloc' Proclaimed

AU1208200794 Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA (SNS supplement) in Slovak 9 Aug 94 p II

["Full text" of "Joint Statement" proclaiming the formation of the "National Bloc," signed in Bratislava on 20 July: "Joint Statement; The National Bloc Has Become Reality"]

[Text] We, representatives of nationally and Christian-oriented political parties, movements, and social organizations, realize that the struggle for Slovakia did not end on 1 January 1993. The overt, but also covert, struggle for Slovakia's orientation continues. Politicians who did not make any secret of their negative attitude toward the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the Slovak Nation at the time it was issued, who opposed the partition of the CSFR, who voted against the adoption of the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, and others whom no one had elected, now misuse the parliamentary soil for an undignified struggle for power instead of dealing in a principled and legislatively comprehensive way with serious social problems such as the pilfering of national property and the growth of crime, unemployment, the cost of living, and the number of families and pensioners living below subsistence level.

Not only is democracy but also Slovak statehood threatened. There are deputies in parliament who represent political entities that did not even participate in the election. Many former *nomenklatura* cadres in state administration and other positions continue to be in charge of the most important spheres of political and economic life, running them according to their ideas and intentions.

We realize that boundless liberalism and consumerism are just as dangerous for the further development and evolution of Slovakia as neocommunism. Therefore, we want to protect the Slovak nation against a government made up of lackeys of these sociopolitical systems, which are alien to us. We can accomplish this only by joining our forces.

We note that our programs on basic issues are identical:

—Protection and development of Slovak statehood and the building of a state based on the rule of law.

—Spiritual and moral renewal of the nation on Christian principles.

—Objective evaluation of our modern history and its protagonists.

—Education of, in particular, the young generation toward patriotism and historical national and state awareness.

—Building of a market economy in exemplary symbiosis of man with nature.

—Building of a socially equitable society on the basis of papal encyclicals.

—Protection of the life and the family, emphasis on the function of the woman as mother and of the father as breadwinner.

—Care for physically impaired, weaker, and elderly fellow citizens.

—Just coming to terms with the past, passage of the law on anticommunist resistance.

We note, furthermore, that we fully subscribe to the National Program of the Slovak Heritage Foundation.

This is why we, representatives of nationally and Christian-oriented political parties, movements, and social organizations, guided by the "Appeal for Unity" of Father Anton Hlinka and Engineer Julius Binder, declare:

1) The National Bloc [Narodny blok] is a loose association of members and sympathizers of nationally and Christian-oriented political parties, movements, and social organizations.

2. The ballot is our most powerful weapon, with which we shall decide whether the Slovak Republic will remain a free and independent state or become a colony of foreign interests.

3. We will contest the early parliamentary elections of 1994 and the communal elections jointly as the National Bloc and will give support to candidates on the slate of the Slovak National Party [SNS].

[issued] In Bratislava on 20 July 1994

This statement was signed by:

The Association of Slovak Soldiers
The Movement for the Liberation of Slovakia
The Slovak National Congress

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The national wing of the Christian Social Union
The Party of National Unity
The SNS
The Andrej Hlinka Society
The Doctor Jozef Tiso Society
The Association of Residents of the Old Petrzalka [borough of Bratislava] Affected by Area Clearance

This statement remains open to other signatories, and we will welcome its signing by further representatives of political entities professing allegiance to the national and Christian orientation who realize that there has been enough fragmentation of forces and that, in the future, it is necessary to proceed jointly.

Commission Confirms DU's Petition Sheets Valid

AU1208165694 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by B. Olach: "More Than 2,000 Candidates for Deputies' Seats"]

[Text] Bratislava—The Slovak Electoral Commission (SVK) had on its agenda yesterday checking and approving the Regional Electoral Commissions' (KVK) reports on the political entities' lists of candidates and other matters pertaining to the Election Law.

The selection by lot of the serial numbers for the political entities registered for the parliamentary election, scheduled for 1415, could not take place. The SVK had by this time approved only certain organizational measures and studied the report of KVK Bratislava. However, reporters were told that the petition sheets of the Democratic Union [DU], about which two members of KVK Bratislava had expressed their doubts, had been scrutinized and that, of the 14,929 signatures, more than 2,400 were invalid, but the number remaining is enough for participation in the election.

Reporters were informed at a press briefing that TA SR had supplied false information when it announced that the KVK summarization units had not yet been established because they have been working since 11 May. For example, they have discovered that some candidates figure on the slates of two political entities. SVK Chairman Juraj Nota did not want to comment on the reasons for the opinions casting doubt on the participation of the DU and the Democratic Party [DS] in the election. Apparently the SVK has not yet received an official recommendation against the DS's participation.

A total of 2,012 candidates have been nominated in the four KVK. Their average age is 42—44 for men and 40 for women.

The Slovak Electoral Commission continues its meeting today at 1000 by drawing lots for the numbers to be assigned to the political parties campaigning in the election.

[Bratislava SLOVENSKA REPUBLIKA in Slovak on the same date on page 1, under the headline "Suspicious Petition Sheets," carries the following TA SR report: "The Regional Electoral Commission in Banska Bystrica has asked the Slovak Electoral Commission to examine the petition sheets of Social Democracy and the Association of Workers of Slovakia. This information was released yesterday by the KVK registrar, Peter Stranak."]

Deputy Explains Reasons for Resigning From DU

AU1208172694 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Aug 94 p 2

[Interview with Igor Gazdik, deputy of the National Council of the Slovak Republic, by Martin Krno in Bratislava on 10 August: "A Loss of Liberal Orientation"]

[Text] Deputy Igor Gazdik, chairman of the Club of Independent Deputies I in the National Council of the Slovak Republic, has given up his post and membership in the club. Yesterday, we interviewed him on the reasons for this decision.

[Gazdik] A tactful person does not disclose the more serious reasons for making an important decision. He just gives the facts. These are that I have refused to campaign for the Democratic Union of Slovakia [DU] and that I have resigned from it. It would have been strange to remain in the post of chairman of a club of deputies that is de facto a DU club.

[Krno] Eighteen months ago, you were one of the first to stick his neck out and leave the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and found the Alliance of Democrats [AD] with Milan Knazko. Your step is all the more surprising....

[Gazdik] I had, after all, cofounded a party with an unequivocally liberally oriented program. Because almost nothing of it has been preserved in the new political entity, I simply could not agree with it.

[Krno] Was one of the reasons for your decision not the fact that, in compiling the list of candidates, they did not recognize your worth sufficiently?

[Gazdik] I admit that, from the point of view of prestige, the place they offered me was unacceptable. One of the ethical responsibilities of a chairman of a deputies' club is to defend the interests of its members. In my case, this involved an electable place, especially the fact that the proposal put forward by the club's leadership for drawing up the list of candidates was not accepted. The deputies from the former AD hardly appeared on it and, if they did, then only on the lower places. For example, my colleague Bartosova was put in 11th place. I consider this to be unreasonable.

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Poll Shows Levels of Parties' Support in Kosice

AU1208172294 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 11 Aug 94 p 4

[TA SR report: "The Citizens of Kosice Are Interested in the Election"]

[Text] Kosice—According to the results of a public opinion poll conducted in Kosice in July, which the STATUS company gave to TA SR, respondents expressed great interest in participating in the coming election. Of the 844 respondents, 74.9 percent said they will take part in the election, 10 percent said that they will not, and 15.1 percent still do not know. In reply to a question on whether they would vote the same way as in 1992, 43.2 percent said yes, 37.3 percent said no, and 19.5 percent did not know. Some 56.2 percent will vote for an established party or movement, while only 7.4 percent trust the newly established parties and 36.4 percent of respondents have not decided. As far as support for the parties and movements is concerned, almost 40.2 percent of respondents have not decided. Of the 59.8 percent who have decided, 33.9 percent will cast their votes for the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, 17.1 percent for the Party of the Democratic Left, 11.4 percent for the Christian Democratic Movement, 4.9 percent for the Slovak National Party, and 3.9 percent for the coalition involving the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement, the Hungarian Civic Party, and Egyutteles. The other parties and movements on the political spectrum have less support. The respondents' average age was 36.9 years, while respondents with a high-school education (55.5 percent) were represented most in the survey.

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Defense Minister on FRY Visit; No Ukraine Deal

LD1408184794 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 14 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti has denied a statement made by the Ukrainian defense minister yesterday that under a barter deal Hungary will buy weapons from Ukraine. General Radetskyy mentioned armored vehicles and air defense guns to our staff member after talks with the Hungarian defense minister in Munkacs [Munkachevo]. Gyorgy Keleti drew attention to the misunderstanding today at a news conference in Szeged after a lightning visit to Belgrade. Incidentally, he spoke with satisfaction about his talks in Belgrade.

[Unidentified reporter] The most important achievement of today's visit to Belgrade was the agreement to abide by the legal continuity of previous accords and to commit the air defense agreement, which had been concluded verbally, to writing. [passage omitted]

The development of further military relations could depend, of course, on general political cooperation. One of its conditions is for Belgrade to consider the rightful organizations of Vajdasag [Vojvodina] Hungarians as partners. Gyorgy Keleti said that the Hungarian side has already taken unilateral steps for the establishment of relations which do not violate the UN embargo.

At the end of the briefing the defense minister said that he asked his Belgrade counterpart to initiate and support in the Yugoslav Government the improvement of bilateral relations.

Defense Minister Meets Ukrainian Counterpart

LD1308201394 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Hungarian Defense Minister Gyoergy Keleti discussed the purchase of arms and military spare parts with his Ukrainian counterpart Vitaliy Radetskyy in Munkachevo. A barter agreement could solve the most urgent problems of the Hungarian Army for a while.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] Apart from bread and salt, the Hungarian defense minister received extremely important offers for the Hungarian Army at his talks in Munkachevo, where he conferred with Ukrainian Defense Minister Radetskyy for much longer than planned.

[Keleti] They said they would like to get medicines, food, and other civilian material in Hungary, in exchange for which they could deliver certain equipment of military technology, spare parts, and (?main parts).

[Correspondent] General Radetskyy said, to be quite precise, it is a question of tanks, armored personnel carriers, air defense weapons, and spare parts. He confirmed that at the end of the month the Ukrainian chief of the General Staff will visit Hungary in order to determine the precise details of the verbal agreement that has now been concluded.

On board the plane on his way home, Gyoergy Keleti denied that the agreement concluded with the military leaders in Kiev is a replacement for the Russian arms and spare part deliveries. Russia owes a debt to Hungary, and it is necessary that they pay their debt.

[Keleti] We have to grab every resource in order to be able to guarantee the Army's technical survival with the help of replacement components, main parts, and other things, and also for us to be able to carry out a certain modernization of the equipment of military technology which is in the system.

[Correspondent] The defense minister will travel to Yugoslavia tomorrow, first to get acquainted with his Serb colleague, and second to let the Belgrade leadership know that Hungary adheres fully to the provisions of the UN embargo but considers good-neighborly relations with Yugoslavia to be very important.

Gyoergy Keleti would like to get the Serb defense minister to confirm some earlier agreements, among them first and foremost the one that bans the maneuvering of military aircraft in the border zone. [end recording]

Keleti on Barter Trade

LD1408203194 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 14 Aug 94

[Excerpt] After his visits in Munkacs [Munkachevo] and Belgrade, Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti has briefed the media about the details. Zsuzsa Ladanyi reports.

[Ladanyi] In connection with his talks with Ukrainian Defense Minister Vitaliy Radetskyy in Munkacs, Gyorgy Keleti said that contrary to the news broadcast yesterday on Hungarian TV, he did not go to Ukraine to buy weapons since the country has no money for this. However, under barter trade, military spare parts, armored vehicles, and tanks, which would be vital for the Hungarian Army, may be acquired in return for food, medicine, and various industrial products. [passage omitted]

Defense Minister on Manfred Woerner's Death

LD1508093894 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0500 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Interview with Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti by unidentified announcer at the Kossuth Radio studios in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Our studio guest is Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti. The news this weekend was that NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner died at the age of 59. Speculation has already begun, as is usual in such cases, about the succession. Naturally, what interests us, first and foremost, is how Partnership for Peace or our integration into NATO might change.

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[Keleti] The possibility of joining Partnership for Peace is not affected by this regrettable event. Although we have to say that Mr. Woerner was a great friend of the Hungarian Republic. He visited Hungary on several occasions. Hungary was the first country in the Central European region that he visited. So, the personal relationship that developed here and the good will that emanated from the person of Mr. Woerner toward Hungary, these were determining factors.

I am convinced, however, that these very important issues—in other words, the issues of joining NATO—are not personal issues. The secretary general's next successor will, hopefully, have a similar attitude toward the Hungarian request to join.

[Announcer] Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu—and then shortly afterwards President Ion Iliescu as well—hastened to praise Manfred Woerner. How do you evaluate this? From Romania's point of view, there is obviously some significance in the fact that they praised the secretary general in such a demonstrative way, whereas I am not aware that Hungarian diplomacy took any such steps. This does not mean, of course, that it did not. It is just that I am not aware of it. After all, there was nothing of this kind in the news.

[Keleti] This is not a race. It is a very sad fact that the secretary general has died. We, for our part, will also express the deep mourning that is felt by the Hungarian military leadership, by military politics, and by the political leadership. I do not consider it important whether we are first, second, or whatever in this. What I consider important is that the Hungarian public should also sympathize at such a time with those who mourn the NATO secretary general. I also consider it important that we should ensure continuity in the coming period as well.

As for the fact that the Romanians were in such a hurry, maybe Romanian diplomacy has a tradition that, if possible, they should be first, but this is not a race. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] Allow me for a moment to return to the Belgrade visit. Was any mention made there of what it was that Lajos Fur discussed with [Yugoslav Defense Minister] Pavle Bulatovic last summer?

[Keleti] I only just learned about it myself, that this meeting took place between them last summer here in Hungary. I do not know what they discussed. I asked Mr. Bulatovic what the reason was for the very great secrecy that has surrounded this meeting ever since. He said he did not understand it either. Fur had asked for this meeting to take place under entirely discreet conditions, and obviously....

[Announcer, interrupting] So you still do not know any details either?

[Keleti] I do not. Obviously, it might be possible to find out details. I do not think that any discussion took place there that....

[Announcer, interrupting] It is interesting, however. Fur, if I may say so, avoided this when the portfolios were transferred.

[Keleti] Well, we did meet for a few minutes. This....

[Announcer, interrupting] It could not have been possible even to broach it?

[Keleti] I did not even know about this, so I could not even have asked him about it. However, I think one should leave the past behind. We must look to the future, what we can do within the Army in the interest of battle readiness, officer....

[Announcer, interrupting] Are you not curious, even in retrospect, to know what Fur discussed with his Yugoslav colleague one year ago?

[Keleti] Yes, I am curious, and I will make enquiries.

Parties Begin Coordination for Local Elections

AU1208155494 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 12 Aug 94 p 5

[Text] The single-round local government elections are forcing the opposition to coordinate their moves—Imre Konya, parliamentary deputy of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], told us. Konya added that he sees chances for the MDF, the Christian Democratic People's Party [KDNP], and the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] to come up with joint mayor candidates almost everywhere in the country. We asked the opinion of other parties about this.

The KDNP Is Open to Cooperation

The KDNP is open to nominating joint candidates with the opposition parties—KDNP Chairman Laszlo Surjan told us. Preparing for the local government elections, the KDNP has set up a separate self-government committee. The KDNP leaves the electoral alliances to the decision of local party organizations and there is no central limitation. In places where they have no candiates of their own, the KDNP is ready to also support non-KDNP candidates who can genuinely represent the community's interests. The KDNP supports the direct election of mayors but, at the same time, it condemns strongly the previous idea according to which the local heads of party lists automatically become candidates for the position of mayor. This solution would limit the activity of the mayor responsible for the entire community to party constraints and would exclude the possibility of nominating independent persons. According to Surjan, it would be a mistake to cancel the election validity threshold, but, irrespective of the upcoming decision, the KDNP urges everyone to participate in the elections. The KDNP finds it justified to carry out certain corrections in the number of personnel regarding the various deputy bodies, but the party finds it desirable to make sure that the number of deputies elected by the citizens does not drop in the capital's assembly.

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The Socialists Expect Good Results

We asked Sandor Csintalan, member of the MSZP [Hungarian Socialist Party] Presidium in charge of preparing the local government elections, whether cooperation among the opposition parties also prompts the Hungarian Socialist Party to seek coalition partners. As we learned, the Socialists are sure that there are communities where the opposition will cooperate, and they are prepared for this. However, this does not affect the MSZP position, and the center will not order any coalition requirement. Local party organizations are completely independent. We also asked Sandor Csintalan whether it is possible that the MDF's Gabor Demszky and MSZP's Etele Barath will divide the supporters of the government coalition, while the joint opposition candidates win. According to Sandor Csintalan, according to the results of the elections in May and the latest public opinion polls, nothing is threatening the Socialists' good election results.

Independent FIDESZ Candidate in the Capital

Imre Konya exaggerated when he said that the MDF, the KDNP, and the FIDESZ can come up with a joint candidate in almost every community—Zoltan Pokorni said on behalf of the FIDESZ committee in charge of preparing the local government elections. On a local level, the FIDESZ is conducting negotiations on electoral cooperation with every parliamentary party, and there is no special focus on either the KDNP or the MDF. Several local groups are preparing election agreements with the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] and the MSZP. At the same time, Pokorni did not deny the fact that more communities are engaged in alliance talks with the SZDSZ and the MDF than with the current government parties.

The FIDESZ puts special emphasis on the capital city. In Budapest, the FIDESZ will nominate its own candidate, although both the government parties and the opposition turned to the FIDESZ to agree to a joint candidate.

The seeking of allies is going on intensively and, according to Zoltan Pokorni, this is the result of the expected one-round elections. Zoltan Pokorni finds it dangerous that the current tripolar political situation might become a bipolar one, as a result of the division of the liberal forces.

From the viewpoint of the FIDESZ, the local government elections have two important stakes: preserving the party's position and avoiding the emergence of a distorted power system in which a single party influences both the Parliament and the local government bodies. The two trends are sometimes contradictory—Zoltan Pokorni admitted, and mentioned the example of some local FIDESZ groups making election alliances with the Socialists. "Fortunately, these are rare cases"—Zoltan Pokorni concluded.

The MSZP Is the Main Partner for SZDSZ

The local SZDSZ groups decide independently on the election cooperation. According to Balint Magyar, executive chairman of the SZDSZ, many more agreements can be expected between the SZDSZ and the MSZP than with the opposition parties. At the same time, Balint Magyar does not think that the Smallholders will come up with many joint candidates. For the SZDSZ, after the MSZP, the FIDESZ is the second partner.

Balint Magyar finds it correct to form coalitions prior to local government elections. In his view, narrowing down the number of candidates contributes to the emergence of a real competition, particularly in view of the single-round elections.

The expected modification of the law on local government bodies is prompting the smaller parties to try to cooperate and come up with a joint candidate to oppose the current government parties.

Balint Magyar did not exclude the possibility of a central coordination with the heads of the MSZP on the mayoral candidates in county capitals and Budapest. However, the local organizations will have to make concrete proposals for this. The MDF will probably not sign a comprehensive election agreement with the MSZP. However, negotiations are held with the Socialists in many places on presenting a joint candidate.

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Kuron Remains Most Popular Politician

WS1508083094 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 12 Aug 94 p 4

[Report by NIKA: "OBOP—Politicians' Popularity: Glemp Going Down, Kuron in the Lead, Walesa at the Bottom"]

[Text] Jacek Kuron was the most popular politician in July (the same as two months ago). Sixty percent of Polish people declared that they like Kuron. Waldemar Pawlak (52 percent) and Zbigniew Religa (50 percent) are also among the politicians who are particularly liked by society.

On the other hand, Lech Walesa has the greatest number of opponents (47 percent of those polled do not like Walesa), followed by the Kaczynski brothers (Jaroslaw Kaczynski 46 percent, Lech Kaczynski 44 percent).

Compared with a poll conducted in May, the popularity ratings of Cardinal Jozef Glemp suffered the most: The proportion of his supporters dropped from 55 percent down to 46 percent, whereas the proportion of those who are negatively predisposed toward Cardinal Glemp increased from 14 percent up to 20 percent.

Aleksander Kwasniewski is supported by more people now than two months ago (an increase from 39 percent to 44 percent), followed by Barbara Labuda (from 20 percent to 27 percent). The chairwoman of the Parliamentary Women's Group also became a more popular person: Whereas 38 percent of those polled had not heard of her in May, that proportion dropped to 29 percent in July. Other little-known people include Adam Strzembosz (every other Pole has not heard of the name of the chief justice of the Supreme Court), followed by Finance Minister Grzegorz Kolodko (39 Percent).

On the other hand, almost everybody knows the names of Jacek Kuron, Waldemar Pawlak, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and Lech Walesa.

The poll by the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP] was conducted in the period 15-19 July, using a random sample of 966 persons.

ZChN Wants Pawlak To Get Tough on Gangsters

WS1508082594 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Aug 94 p 3

[Article by WZ: "Christians Against Bandits; ZChN on Gangs, Police, Witnesses, and Lepper"]

[Text] *"Unless the government undertakes clear measures against gangsters and 'Self-Defense,' we will demand the dismissal of Justice Minister Wlodzimierz Cimoszewicz and Internal Affairs Ministry chief Andrzej Milczanowski," Ryszard Czarnecki, deputy chairman of the Christian-National Union [ZChN] warned yesterday.*

He accused Pawlak's team of foot-dragging over work on police laws. The laws had been prepared by the Hanna Suchocka government, but they had to wait until June of this year to be approved by the current Council of Ministers. Thus, a few months were unnecessarily wasted. Czarnecki presented a long list of measures that, in his view, are indispensable to reduce crime rates. The ZChN regards the following to be indispensable: establishing the institutions of key witnesses, controlled purchase, and controlled delivery; extension of the list of crimes prosecuted by official motion (crimes that can be prosecuted without victim testimony); liberalization of the rules for using firearms by the police; abandoning the application of suspension of criminal punishment with regard to dangerous offenders with a criminal record; introducing criminal punishment for bankruptcies under false pretenses and for concealing property from creditors; and increasing witness safety.

Witnesses should be provided with complete anonymity. The ZChN wants witnesses to be able to identify criminals in a situation where the criminal would not see them. It wants witnesses to be able to just initial their testimony and to be able to testify in court without confronting the accused.

Self-governments should also involve themselves in combating the crime phenomenon. Czarnecki encouraged them to increase the strength of municipal guards and to support the police financially. The mayor of the Warsaw Ochota district (who is a ZChN member) has already collected money to set up jobs for a further 100 police officers.

The ZChN leader regards "Self-Defense" to be as dangerous as the gangs. He called the beating up by Lepper's followers of the manager of an indebted economic unit in Kobylnica "the beginning of political terrorism in Poland." Then Czarnecki asked rhetorically: "Why could the police not have intervened in time? Why did the public prosecutor's office initiate its investigation only after two weeks?"

Czarnecki called on the authorities to "transfer Lepper to an isolated place" and for the media to stop "advertising" Lepper.

According to Czarnecki, the ever-more-frequent robberies of churches and places of national commemoration also require a radical response. The ZChN proposes that the perpetrators of such acts be punished "particularly severely."

Status of Planned Freeway Project Viewed

MM1508105594 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 8 Aug 94 p 6

[Article by Beata Sobieszek: "Freeways: Another Look"]

[Excerpts] Recently, a meeting took place in Gdansk between Transport and Maritime Economy Minister Boguslaw Liberadzki and representatives of the voivodships through which the route of the proposed A-1 Freeway has been planned to run. Let us recall that the

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freeway will be an international route extending from Scandinavia as far as the Middle East. The Polish section of the freeway will incorporate Gdansk, Torun, Lodz, Piotrkow, Czestochowa, Katowice, and Gorczyce.

The procedure of obtaining parliamentary approval for the "freeway acts package" is complex and likely to take a long time. However, provided that a sufficiently brisk pace is maintained in all of the legislative work, the end of this year should see licenses issued to future investors. Before this happens, Minister Liberadzki will officially invite tenders for licenses to build and operate the freeways.

Obviously, a number of modern gas stations, restaurants, hotels, motels, and many other infrastructure facilities will be built along the freeways. These will provide new jobs, which may in the future contribute to a certain extent to the solving of the unemployment problem that continues to blight our voivodship. This is not merely wishful thinking. It is enough to study the history of the United States in the 1930's. One of the ways of resolving the massive economic crisis of that time was precisely to launch a freeway construction project. Thanks to that very project, unemployment in the United States was reduced by several dozen percent.

To date, the freeway acts package has been discussed and evaluated by the Council of Ministers Economic Committee. It is currently being debated in the Sejm, from where it will then be passed for evaluation to the Senate, to eventually reach the President of the Polish Republic.

The freeway construction and development plan will not accord priority to any of the proposed freeway routes. The undertaking and completion of the construction work will be at the exclusive discretion of the investors. Consequently, the freeway route for which higher funds have been secured will be the first to be completed and opened for operation.

The first stage of the construction of the A-1 Freeway will be the building of the section designed to join the Tri-city [Gdansk, Gdynia, Sopot] with the Lodz conurbation. It is expected to be particularly important for Lodz Voivodship. Along its Lodz section, the freeway will most probably be connected with the existing Tuszyn highway junction, as well as with the part of the A-8 Freeway between Rzgow and Lask junctions. The connection with the A-8 Freeway will open up access to Lask Airport for the whole Lodz region. The consequences of the realization of this project are to be viewed in several aspects. First, there is an important ecological angle to be considered. Because the freeway construction will make it possible to eliminate urban transit traffic across Lodz, the effects of environmental pollution by the emission of exhaust gases will be reduced to a considerable extent. The elimination of urban transit traffic will also reduce congestion on city and voivodship highways, which in consequence will lower the number of accidents as well as control the tiresome traffic jams that are at present making drivers' lives a misery. This will be accompanied and enhanced by the realization of another highway project, whose objective is to modernize and improve all of the sections of major national highways that run through the Lodz urban highway network. [passage omitted]

Preparations are already under way for the construction of the A-1 Freeway. The Transproject Construction Design Office in Warsaw has been putting together all of the necessary documentation, with a view to launching the land takeover operation for the construction of the planned freeways and freeway junctions—a land register listing ownership status of all of the properties within a belt of several kilometers' length, which has been mapped out and laid aside for the freeway construction.

Several foreign investors have already indicated that they are interested in the project. The most consequential among them are the Hambros Bank Limited of London and the German company VSTR GmbH Rodewisck. The latter is currently engaged in the construction of the A-72 Freeway in Germany. Both companies are ready to bring their capital into Polish foreign joint-partnership ventures specializing in the construction of freeways, air and railroad transport, and the restructuring of the Lodz industry.

The interest of foreign capital in our freeway construction program is matched by the interest foreign companies have shown in the construction of superexpress railroad lines—so-called Eurocity lines—in Poland. At present, analyses are being carried out of the possibility of planning the London-Paris-Berlin-Warsaw-Moscow superexpress route so as to take advantage of the Lodz railroad junction, with a stop at Lodz Kaliska Station.

Minister B. Liberadzki estimates that the pace of the realization of the freeway construction program should produce 170 kilometers of freeways a year. If that pace is maintained, the section of the A-1 Freeway connecting Gdansk with the Lodz conurbation should be completed within three to five years. Let us hope that it will take the shortest time possible.

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Partnership for Peace Program Ready by Sep

AU1308170094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1000 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Romania's individual program within Partnership for Peace [PFP] has been outlined and will be endorsed in September, said Defense Minister Gheorghe Tinca in an interview granted to our station this morning.

Romania's individual program includes exercises involving the Navy and drills at the firing ranges of Capul Midia and Babadag.

Mr. Tinca mentioned that he had inspected these firing ranges and decided on the necessary measures that would ensure their faultless operation. The Black Sea is acquiring an increasingly greater role from a geopolitical and geostrategic viewpoint, and this compels Romania to give priority to its Navy, thus allowing it to assert an adequate political role in the region, said Mr. Tinca this morning in the "Political Week" program.

SRI 'Prepared To Face Any Terrorist Phenomena'

AU1308170794 Bucharest TINERETUL LIBER in Romanian 9 Aug 94 p 1

[Article by Cristina Sofronie and Bogdan Tiberiu: "SRI Is Prepared To Face Islamic Fundamentalist Terrorist Attacks in Romania"]

[Text] As a result of the wave of terrorist actions carried out by Islamic fundamentalists throughout the world, generated by the recent historic reconciliation between the Arab and the Jewish states, special forces in large international cities are taking increasingly more active measures every day to prevent such attacks. Taking into account the fact that there are a great many Arab citizens in Romania who have more than once been involved in anti-social actions, we have asked Nicolae Ulieru, Romanian Intelligence Service [SRI] spokesman, to state exclusively for our newspaper his opinion on the likelihood of an outbreak of certain conflicts such as the aforementioned. He said that one can observe the beginning of this phenomenon currently, however, for the time being, the situation is well under control. Likewise, he affirmed that if the situation deteriorates in this respect, no doubt the SRI will have to increase its sphere of action. "We might need to strengthen our resources, however, we have no problems for the time being and the SRI, with its special units in this field, is prepared to face any terrorist phenomena or terrorist actions."

'Worrisome' Increase in Drug Trafficking

AU1208172894 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 9 Aug 94 p 10

[Article by Nicolae Military: "Over 13 Tonnes of Drugs Were Confiscated in Romania"—all figures as published]

[Text] During 1991, 11 cases of drug trafficking were identified in Romania. Seven cases were uncovered by customs personnel and four by the police. In the first half of this year, 21 cases were registered: Fifteen traffickers or groups of traffickers were found by the police and six by the customs bodies.

Hashish is the main drug trafficked in Romania, with 11,180.791 kg seized in 1993 and 1,570.622 kg seized in the first six months of 1994, compared to 0.278 kg in 1991. In 1994, aside from hashish, the police also confiscated 298.623 kilograms of heroin, 278 morphine vials, and other important quantities of opium and cocaine. In a statistical report on the disguises used—a report released by the General Police Inspectorate and by Romania's General Magistracy—most traffickers (31 of them) tried to cross the border by hiding the drugs on their bodies; 24 hid them in their luggage; 23 hid them in their means of transportation; 15 hid the drugs in their clothes; four hid them in containers; two hid them in electronic apparatus; and one hid them in works of art.

More worrisome than the continuous growth of the quantities of drugs confiscated in Romania in the past four years is the ever greater number of traffickers recruited from among Romanian citizens. While only one of the 16 traffickers caught on our territory in 1991 was of Romanian nationality and also only one out of the 27 caught in 1992 was Romanian, the situation has changed in 1994, when 27 of the 46 traffickers caught were of Romanian nationality. From 1991 until 30 June 1994, some 195 persons involved in drugs were arrested and interrogated in Romania. Of these, 44 are Romanians and 93 come from European countries, 41 from Asian countries, 13 from African states, three from North America and South America, and one from Australia.

Nobody will be surprised if we register a doubling or even a tripling of both the quantities of drugs trafficked through Romania and of the number of people drawn into criminal networks by the end of the year. This is due to the simple fact that the current Romanian legislation encourages the actions of the international drug networks. The maximum punishment for any quantity of drugs trafficked through our country is five years imprisonment. A foreigner knows that if he is caught in possession of a large quantity of drugs, in a few months he can pay the 100,000 lei bail and leave the country to resume his activities. However, if he manages to overcome the vigilance of the police and the customs people he is a made man because, if he passes 1 tonne of hashish or several hundred kilograms of cocaine across the border, he can live quietly for the rest of his life on the money made from the sale of the drugs in the West.

Are the legislative bodies in our country trying to avoid spoiling the tranquility and hoary age of the international gangsters and of the heads of the Mafia groups operating in the world of drugs? By the way in which the change of the Penal Code and the adaption of legislation

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in this field to the world legal standards are being procrastinated, it seems that the answer is yes!

PAC To Sign 'Additional Protocol' With CDR

AU1308203094 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1700 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] The National Committee of the Party of Civic Alliance [PAC] held a meeting today and decided to sign the addendum to the Protocol on the Organization and Functioning of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR]. After discussions lasting five hours and held without the presence of journalists in the hall, the PAC decision was announced by PAC President Nicolae Manolescu during a news conference.

Our correspondent Tudor Stanciu reports that the PAC leader read a declaration that included severe criticism of the way in which the CDR refused to take into consideration the proposals of certain political parties regarding the functioning of the CDR. He said that the PAC has not signed the addendum on 3 August because the representatives did not have the mandate to do so, and would not have the mandate to do so as long as the document's contents were not communicated to the leadership of parties.

PAC considers undemocratic the way in which the CDR council was practically forced to adopt the additional protocol. At the same time, the atmosphere of hostility toward the PAC and its president had come from CDR President Emil Constantinescu, who systematically ignored the PAC's proposals and those of other member formations, and postponed their discussions in accordance with his personal schedule and interests, reads the declaration.

The so-called ambition of the PAC president to become the CDR president's rival was rejected by Nicolae Manolescu. He stressed that he did not intend to be the CDR presidential candidate in the elections and therefore, Emil Constantinescu would have the opportunity to understand the PAC leader's choice and turn all his energies toward his real political opponents. PAC has not declared its intention to withdraw from the CDR and reasserts the belief that only the unity of the opposition can defeat the current leadership and lead Romania onto the road of democracy.

By signing the protocol, the PAC will continue to support actions of respect for principles and measures that will permit the CDR to become Romania's major political force. Likewise, PAC will call for the immediate and unconditional inclusion of the National Liberal Party in the convention. In connection with the decision made by the PAC today, the other side of the coin might be shown in two months time, when the protocol will be rediscussed and no improvement noted. PAC reserves it right to act according to its convictions if it feels cheated in its expectations, Mr. Manolescu stated in conclusion.

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Additional Serb Heavy Weapons Found in Zone

AU1308134194 Paris AFP in English 0243 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, August 13 (AFP)—UN troops spotted additional Serb heavy weapons Friday [12 August] in the northern rim of the Sarajevo total exclusion zone (TEZ), the area of recent fighting between the Serbs and the government forces, said UN here.

The UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spotted a 120-mm mortar and a double-barrelled 30-mm anti-aircraft gun moving on the Serb side of the confrontation line Friday afternoon. The weapons were going from the south of the Bosnian-held town of Visoko, right on the confrontation line, towards Serb-held Ilijas, said Major Rob Annink, a UNPROFOR spokesman.

Visoko is just outside the exclusion zone and Ilijas, five kilometres to the southeast, is inside the zone. The area between Visoko and Ilijas and Vares to the northeast has been the scene of a strong Bosnian army offensive in the last week. The Bosnians are trying to capture the road leading from Olovo, further north, to Sarajevo.

The Bosnian side succeeded in approaching the Serb-controlled part of the road in the Ilijas area, but unconfirmed reports said the Serbs launched a counter-attack Friday.

In the same general area of the northern edge of Sarajevo TEZ a Serb T-84 tank was noted by the UN on Wednesday. The Serbs had promised to remove it from the zone, but UN had no confirmation that it was actually done. According to Major Annink, the only information UN has "is that the Serbs said it's outside of the TEZ".

UN also reported a 122-mm howitzer firing five rounds from the inside of the zone in the night between Thursday and Friday, said Major Annink.

The howitzer was firing from the Serb side of the confrontation line, one kilometre west of Ilijas onto the Bosnian-held town of Breza, which is just inside the exclusion zone.

According to Annink the weapons are "clearly in violation" of the February North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) ultimatum on the presence of heavy weaponry inside the 20-km exclusion zone around Sarajevo. However, nobody in UNPROFOR is contemplating call for an air-strike, said Annink, since "the situation does not call for them". The UN will first use the regular chain of communication with the Serbs in the ground asking them to move the weapons out of the zone, leaving the use of force as the very last solution, added Annink.

Stoltenberg Fails To Persuade Bosnian Serbs

AU1308181294 Paris AFP in English 1734 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Aug 13 (AFP)—The Bosnian Serbs repeated their rejection of the international peace plan for Bosnia Saturday despite a diplomatic bid by UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg in a visit to their Pale headquarters near here.

"We cannot accept the maps the way they are at the moment," president of the self-styled Bosnian Serb republic Radovan Karadzic said on Serb Radio, received in Sarajevo, after a meeting with Stoltenberg. [passage omitted]

"We were presented with Butrus-Ghali's request to accept the maps", Karadzic said, adding that neither the government nor the Bosnian Serb parliament had accepted the contact group's division of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

"We are convinced the people will reject" the partition, he said, referring to a referendum of the Bosnian Serb population scheduled for August 27-28.

"If the questions of Sarajevo and access to the sea were to be resolved we could expect a positive response. If not, we expect an almost unanimous 'no'," he said.

The Serbs presently control 70 percent of Bosnian territory, in the west and east of the country.

Karadzic reiterated demands for modifications to the plan, regarding guarantees on Serb presence in the Sarajevo area and Serb access to the Adriatic Sea.

They also want to negotiate the status of towns it controls at the moment and which, in the international peace plan, must be returned to the Bosnians.

The contact group has repeated several times that its plan is non-negotiable.

Karadzic Rejects Maps

LD1308182594 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Here is what the president of the Srpska republic said following today's talks with UN mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg:

[Begin Karadzic recording] We have always found it pleasant and useful to talk to Mr. Stoltenberg, especially in the capacity of the UN secretary general's special envoy. He conveyed to us the secretary general's request to most seriously reconsider the maps and accept them. We have examined a possibility as a way out of the situation prior to our referendum.

Namely, we cannot accept the maps as they are now, either as a leadership or as an assembly, and we are convinced the people will reject them. However, if we tried to resolve the issue of Sarajevo and access to the sea before the referendum—and within the context of resolving certain exchanged Sarajevo territories we would get around Sarajevo for Brcko, Doboj, Sanski Most, and the enclaves in eastern Bosnia—then the maps

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could be adjusted to an extent where we could expect a positive response at the referendum.

As things now stand, we do not expect a positive response. On the contrary, we are expecting an almost 100 percent negative response. [end recording]

Territory Exchange Discussed

LD1408191994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1855 GMT 14 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, has told the Belgrade-based POLITIKA that "at this moment the most important thing to do is to accept the maps as drawn up by the Contact Group" but that this "does not mean that they are final."

In a special statement for tomorrow's edition of POLITIKA, given after his return to Belgrade from Pale, Stoltenberg said that "an exchange of territories could take place in ensuing negotiations."

The Norwegian diplomat said that in his role as the UN secretary general's special envoy he stressed in his talks with the leadership of the Srpska republic "the need to accept the maps at this stage, so that the peace process can continue."

"If the maps are not accepted the peace process will be suspended and that could be fatal for this region," Stoltenberg said, adding that he will inform the UN secretary general about the detailed talks he had in Pale.

"At this stage we are only concerned with the acceptance of the maps. Everything else will be dealt with when the peace process resumes," Stoltenberg told POLITIKA.

UN, Serbs Reach Sarajevo Antisniper Agreement

AU1208191494 Paris AFP in English 1832 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Aug 12 (AFP)—Bosnian Serb leaders agreed Friday [12 August] with the head of the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia, Lieutenant-General Michael Rose, on ways of banning snipers who have been terrorising the Bosnian capital. [passage omitted]

The agreement was reached after Rose visited Serb headquarters at nearby Pale to persuade Serbs to ban snipers, reopen roads into the Bosnian capital and introduce a total "demilitarisation" of Sarajevo.

Serb forces closed the access roads two weeks ago, breaking a truce reached in March.

A vice president for the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb republic, Nikolas Koljevic, said details of an anti-sniping agreement had been agreed "and we expect it to be signed very soon, probably on Sunday."

Further talks may take place about stopping recent attacks on the airport which have halted an aid airlift, he said.

A Serb-Moslem anti-sniper agreement was reached 10 days ago but was not enforced. Since then, Serb snipers have killed three people and injured 20 others, targeting the city's tram service.

In the latest attack on Thursday, an unidentified 11-year-old Bosnian girl was killed by Serb sniper fire in central Sarajevo as she played with a group of children near Rose's home.

One UN official close to the negotiations, who did not wish to be named, was sceptical about the value of Friday's agreement, saying Serb respect for the deal would depend on the release of some 500 prisoners by the Bosnian Army.

The Bosnian Government has refused to release the prisoners until it receives news from the Serbs about the fate of 15,000 Bosnians who have disappeared since the start of fighting 27 months ago.

The Serbs also hold some 500 Bosnian prisoners, according to the International Committee for the Red Cross.

Describing the talks as "very useful", Rose said UNPROFOR was in Bosnia "as an impartial force trying to find a way to a peaceful resolution."

He warned, however, that the UN would call for NATO support "in accordance with the (UN) Security Council resolution" if the heavy arms exclusion zone which has protected Sarajevo for the last six months was threatened. [passage omitted]

Serb Leader Hails Agreement

LD1408193894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 14 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Nikola Koljevic, vice president of the Srpska republic, has told SRNA that the signing of the agreement to cease sniping activity in the Sarajevo area is "a big step toward peace."

"This agreement should lead to a completely peaceful life in both Serb and Muslim parts of the city," Koljevic said after today's meeting at Sarajevo airport at which the Srpska republic and Muslim representatives signed the agreement to stop sniping activity within 24 hours.

SRNA has also learned from Serb delegation circles that Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the people's assembly of the Srpska republic, will have a meeting with the Muslim side on Wednesday at Sarajevo airport. They will discuss the possibility of reopening "the blue routes" around Sarajevo.

The Serb side's condition for reopening the roads is the implementation of an earlier agreement on prisoner exchange on the basis of the all-for-all principle.

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Momir Jugic, member of the headquarters for assisting Serbs in the Muslim territory of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, told SRNA that a convoy with 230 Serb civilians should leave the Muslim part of Sarajevo soon.

Jugic specified that the Serbs will cross to the Srpska republic territory by buses or over the Bridge of Serb Warriors.

Gunmen Fire on Peacekeepers

AU1508095594 Paris AFP in English 0946 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 15 (AFP)—Two unidentified gunmen opened fire overnight on Egyptian UN peacekeeping troops in the centre of Sarajevo, causing no injuries, the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) said Monday [15 August].

This was the first time UN troops were deliberately targeted from within the city.

The two gunmen stopped their car next to an Egyptian armoured personnel carrier, near a tunnel where Bosnian government heavy weapons are under UN guard, and emptied their automatic rifles on the vehicle, according to UNPROFOR spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Bertrand Labarsouque.

Some 30 impacts were found on the carrier, according to another UNPROFOR spokesman, Major Rob Annink, who said an investigation had been launched into the incident.

An unnamed UN official blamed the incident on "uncontrolled elements," but acknowledged it was "worrying" for UN security in the city.

Meanwhile, ceasefire violations around the city's front lines reached their highest level in weeks with 742 incidents registered Sunday.

But snipers, firing at civilian targets, have remained mostly quiet since Bosnian Serb and government forces signed an anti-sniping agreement on Sunday.

Labarsouque said only three shots were monitored Sunday afternoon, at a time when a TV crew was interviewing UN troops responsible for anti-sniper protection outside a downtown hotel.

One shot reportedly came from Bosnian lines, one from Serb lines and one was unidentified.

UNPROFOR has held a meeting with Bosnian government forces to discuss how the anti-sniping agreement will be upheld, and intends holding a similar meeting with Serb forces.

Under the agreement, UNPROFOR and local military units will patrol areas long used by snipers.

Meanwhile, similar joint patrols are also being envisaged for the airport where UN flights have repeatedly been fired at. The airport was open Monday to UNPROFOR, but not to UN aid flights.

UN: Muslim Forces Violating Exclusion Zone

LD1408170694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1650 GMT 14 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug. 14 (TANJUG)—A United Nations spokesman said Sunday that Moslem forces were violating the Sarajevo exclusion zone and continuing their offensive north and northwest of the city.

The Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA quotes Lt-Col. Betrand Labarsouquoe of the U.N. Protection Force in Sarajevo as saying in a press conference that Moslem troop movements were detected in the Vares, Breza and Visoko areas, within the 20-km belt around Sarajevo.

Labarsouque said that a Moslem army unit armed with SAM-7 ground-to-air missiles had to be escorted out of the exclusion zone.

He also said that the fighting can be transferred to within the zone and even to its very centre if the Moslem offensive proved to be directed against the Serb-controlled suburb of Ilijas 15 km from the centre of the city.

U.N. Bosnia Commander Gen. Michael Rose recently threatened NATO air strikes against Bosnian Serbs and Moslems if the fighting continued.

NATO has already carried out punitive air raids against Bosnian Serb positions but this was the first time that Bosnian Moslems were also threatened with air strikes.

Government Rejects Negotiations With Abdic

AU1208154794 Paris AFP in English 1508 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] Sarajevo, Aug 12 (AFP)—The Bosnian Government on Friday [12 August] said it would not negotiate with rebel leader Fikret Abdic after winning back 80 percent of the Bihac enclave which he declared independent less than a year ago.

Abdic, holed up in his headquarters at Velika Kladusa in the western Bosnian enclave, meanwhile called for Bihac to be made into an international protectorate.

A statement from Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic's office, carried by Sarajevo radio, said the "clear position of the Bosnian (collective) presidency" was "there will be no political negotiations with Fikret Abdic".

The report came after strong advances since Tuesday by the Moslem-led Bosnian Army left separatist Moslem leader Abdic in control of just 20 percent of the enclave which he declared independent in September, 1993.

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The offensive against the leader of the "Autonomous Province of Western Bosnia" began in early June.

On Thursday, UN officials said UN-led talks due to have led to negotiations on a ceasefire in the pocket broke down when the two sides failed to agree on the make-up of their respective delegations.

Izetbegovic's statement proposed that local civil and military authorities "negotiate joining of the separatists to the government units".

On Tuesday, the Bosnian presidency offered an amnesty to separatist forces "who did not commit any crime and who surrender in eight days to the Bosnian army".

Speaking by telephone to journalists in Zagreb, Abdic said he asked the UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) official in charge of civilian affairs Sergio Vieira de Mello on Thursday "to forward this proposal (for Bihac to be made a protectorate) to the Sarajevo government."

"I asked Mr De Mello to transmit this proposal to the Sarajevo government," he said.

He wanted the enclave to have a European administration "like Mostar" which, after bloody fighting between Serbs and Moslems, has been administered by the 12-nation European Union since July 23.

UNPROFOR officials said Thursday they were concerned about the welfare of the civilian population in Bihac and feared an additional flight of refugees if the fighting continued.

Western Bosnia Seeks Protectorate for Bihac

LD1208142494 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] At a news conference in Zagreb today, the leaders of the autonomous province of western Bosnia [APZB] refuted rumors that their army was totally vanquished, but they proposed that the area of the so-called Bihac pocket be placed under an international protectorate. Here is a report by Mira Baric:

[Baric] It is true that they have lost some of their territory, said Bozidar Sicl, speaker of the APZB parliament, but they are now offering fresh peace talks with Sarajevo during which they are prepared to discuss the modalities of autonomy. And, following the Mostar example, they are also ready to accept a protectorate over their area which they would finance themselves, Sicl said, adding:

[Begin Sicl recording] Our diplomatic initiative is the fruit of our lasting conviction that it is only by political means and in a peaceful way, in keeping with democratic principles, that the lasting and serious crisis in western Bosnia can be resolved and lasting peace and security in this area ensured. [end recording]

Over 30,000 refugees from abandoned and lost villages have been transferred through the protected areas to Velika Kladusa, where they are all being cared for. The Serbs from the UN protected areas are not helping western Bosnia militarily, Bozidar Sicl stressed. During the conference, telephone contact was made with Fikret Abdic, who confirmed his readiness to hold talks but not to capitulate.

[Begin Abdic recording] This is not the purpose of negotiations. The purpose of talks is to find solutions which satisfy both sides and which prevent clashes. [end recording]

Combat Activity Reduced

AU1208154494 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] The united aggressors have by now reduced the intensity of their activity against the free part of the Bihac district, although early this morning they shelled mercilessly the defense lines on Bihac, Bosanska Krupa, and Buzim part of the front and on Grmusko-Srbljanski Plateau [words indistinct] provoking clashes by opening fire from antiaircraft arms. They have intensified sniper activity today.

The situation along the lines of separation with the remains of the paramilitary formations of war criminal Fikret Abdic is the usual one for this [word indistinct]. In the area of Johovica, where the [word indistinct] remainders of the 5th and 6th Brigade of the so-called Peoples' Defense are situated, provocations and sporadic artillery [word indistinct] have continued. They have opened artillery fire at Dobrovo, that is to say, (?the surroundings) of Pecigrad.

The free territory toward Velika Kladusa is [words indistinct]. The sentiment among the rest of the paramilitary army to cross over and place themselves at the disposal of the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army is growing, even though the propaganda [words indistinct] of western Bosnia [words indistinct] the last days of the Abdic-ustasha forces. In Zagreb, Bozidar [words indistinct] .

On the free territories in Cazin and Velika Kladusa communes the life is slowly normalizing. Increasingly more people are returning [passage indistinct].

Abdic's Troops Fighting Among Themselves

LD1208222394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] Our correspondent Mirza Sadikovic reports that five persons—members of Fikret Abdic's headquarters—were killed in the internecine fighting of the traitor paramilitary army. Abdic is allegedly proposing talks in order to gain time. Confirmation of these reports are arriving from Zagreb and Bihac, and also from the occupied territories in the Republic of Croatia. Nada al-Isa reports:

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[Al-Isa] There are very reliable reports about heavy fighting between members of Abdic's paramilitary army, fierce clashes with dead and wounded. We had these reports from well-informed sources in Zagreb. The 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army has also confirmed them, while the Serb radio stations in the occupied parts of Croatia are reporting in a diplomatic fashion about certain disagreements among Abdic's soldiers who are still in Kladusa.

All this goes to indicate that the autonomy, proclaimed by force, is coming to an end, that it is dying out. There is no one to defend it. The majority of Abdic's soldiers went over to the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army; some were imprisoned and some escaped to the so-called Krajina. As for Abdic, God only knows where he is hiding.

The small number of Abdic's mercenaries who are still in Kladusa are in a state of terrible panic. Most of them would like to join the 5th Corps, reliable sources say, but they are being prevented by those who had received top wages from Abdic. Only they are still trying to do the impossible—to keep Kladusa. There is likelihood that they are unaware of the fact that the 5th Corps and its commander, Brigadier Atif Dudakovic, are already outside Kladusa, that Abdic is most prpobably somewhere in the Krajina Serb autonomous region, and that speaker of the so-called parliament, Bozidar Sicl, is (?comfortable) in Zagreb. It is possible that they are all counting on Abdic's sudden willingness to negotiate with Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities. However, the 5th corps says that Abdic certainly does not want talks; he wants to play for time in order to patch up the army that is in disarray. And all this according to a well-known Serbian recipe: Perhaps he could commit more evil in Kladusa. But he has too few soldiers for this purpose.

These are reliable reports. Bosnia-Herzegovina Radio can also be heard in Kladusa. It would be a fortunate development if, via our radio, the radio of Bosnia-Herzegovina, this truth about Fikret Abdic and his dispersed army is heard this evening by those still in Kladusa and who are waging a war against their own state, fighting for an alleged autonomy that never was, that never existed, except in the sick dreams of Fikret Abdic. Luckily, even these dreams have been dispersed, dispersed by the 5th Corps of the Bosnia-Herzegovina army.

Krajisnik Statement on 'Resolve To Persevere'

LD1308185994 Sarajevo Radio Republike Srpske Program for Abroad in Serbo-Croatian 1730 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Momcilo Krajisnik, president of the Srpska republic's national assembly, gave a statement to the Bosnian Serb News Agency [SRNA] saying that the situation in the republic following the introduction of the blockade by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was much better than expected.

We have had positive political feedback from our people, and we are firm in our resolve to persevere. Our people have displayed great strength and are prepared for great sacrifices. We have also had a positive response throughout the world, which shows that what we are doing will bear fruit, Krajisnik explained.

We are not rash people. We are aware of the danger stemming from our decision, and we are accepting this consciously because we realize that we must hold out. If we had a more favorable way out, we would certainly have taken it. We want peace as soon as possible, but a peace that would preserve the minimum vital interests of our struggle. We cannot agree to peace by losing our state, Krajisnik stressed.

He said an assembly session has been scheduled for the beginning of next week, at which a new government should be installed and a new package of measures adjusted to the new situation passed. We are carrying out a series of daily operational activities aimed at resolving the issue of financial transactions and making our economy function, as well as at qualitatively improving the functioning of our authority in all parts of the republic and ensuring the functioning of a governed state governed by law.

Speaking about the support extended by the Serbian Orthodox Church to the Srpska republic's leadership and people, Krajisnik said: It is a great honor for our leadership to be supported by the Serbian Orthodox Church, and we are greatly indebted to it. I would rather be supported by the Serbian Orthodox Church than by the United States, for our church distinguishes good from evil. This instills fate in our victory, Krajisnik said.

Sarajevo Airport Reopened for UN Flights

LD1308191594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 13 (TANJUG)—Sarajevo airport was reopened on Saturday afternoon, but only for United Nations operational flights, said U.N. spokesman in Sarajevo, Major Rob Annink.

The AP quoted U.N. Protection Force (UNPROFOR) sources as saying that aid flights were unlikely until Tuesday at the earliest.

The airport was closed on Wednesday when two aircraft were hit by small-arms fire. It has not been reported yet who was responsible for the incident.

The AP said that UNPROFOR had formed joint patrols with the Bosnian Serbs and Moslems to improve security at the airport.

This is the first time that joint patrols have been formed, said Lieutenant-Colonel Bertrand Labarsouque from the French peacekeeping unit deployed at Sarajevo airport.

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Tudjman Views Sanctions, 'Occupied Territories'

LD1308234394 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2200 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today received Monsignor Giulio Einaudi, the papal nuncio; German Ambassador Horst Weisel; British Ambassador Gavin Hewitt; French Ambassador Henri Marie-Chenu; Russian Ambassador Leonid Kerestedzhiyants; U.S. Ambassador Peter Galbraith; and Chinese Ambassador Xie Xiqin. These ambassadors are all visiting Brioni at his invitation.

President Tudjman expressed his condolences to the German ambassador and the ambassadors of NATO member states at the death of NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner.

Addressing the Papal Nuncio, President Tudjman expressed his profound satisfaction at the upcoming visit by Pope John Paul II to the Republic of Croatia, stressing that Croatia attaches great importance to the visit, especially now that peaceful ways are being explored for ending the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

The talks also centered on the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina and on the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia. In this context, President Tudjman spoke about the problem of passing a resolution on Serbia—something the Contact Group is currently working on. President Tudjman underlined Croatia's demand that the problem of sanctions against Serbia be strictly linked not only to the resolution of the issue of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but also to the reintegration of the occupied territories of the Republic of Croatia.

The extension of the mandate of UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] was discussed and President Tudjman presented Croatia's stand. Croatia, he stressed, cannot allow the implementation of UNPROFOR's mandate in the present manner without improvements in the implementation of the UN security resolutions adopted so far, particularly regarding the control of Croatian borders with Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia as well as the return of the refugees, which would give an impetus to the entire process of reintegration of the occupied areas into the state and judicial system of the Republic of Croatia.

The foreign ambassadors presented their countries' stands, supporting the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia. They also stressed that their governments support the full implementation of all UN Security Council resolutions adopted so far and presented proposals on the manner in which Croatia could reintegrate its occupied areas.

The talks were attended by Deputy Premier and Foreign Minister Mate Granic; Zarko Domljan, the head of the parliamentary foreign Policy Committee; Deputy Foreign Minister Ivo Sanader; Branimir Jaksic, deputy head of the presidential office; and Zeljko Matic, President Tudjman's foreign policy adviser.

Use of Force Against Krajina Serbs Threatened

LD1408140594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1345 GMT 14 Aug 94

[Text] Zagreb, Aug. 14 (TANJUG)—Hrvoje Sarinic, chief Croatian delegate at the talks with the republic of Serb Krajina, has reiterated threats that Croatia will apply force to establish its authority in Krajina, which is a U.N. protected area [UNPA].

Once Croatia exhausted all reserves for negotiating, "it would have to undertake other measures to establish sovereignty in occupied territories," Sarinic told the Zagreb daily VJESNIK.

To intensify the threat, Sarinic underlined that Croatia was also strengthening its military force to secure the "other (war) option."

The republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) was formed in 1991 in parts of the former Yugoslav republic of Croatia mostly populated by Serbs, in response to unilateral Croatia's secession from the ex-Yugoslav federation and its attempt to reduce the status of the Serb people to that of a national minority.

Although the RSK was proclaimed an UNPA in March 1992, Croatia has so far launched four aggressions on the region, killing over a thousand Serbs, predominantly civilians.

Sarinic said Croatia opposed the extension of the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] mandate, which expires late September, unless it included the control of Croatia's internationally recognized borders.

The Croatian stands toward the issue will be "very firm and hard," Sarinic said.

He favourably assessed the recent meeting between the RSK and Croatian delegations in Knin, the RSK political center, because it "launched the process of negotiating on transport, economic, and political issues."

Sarinic reiterated the stand that all the questions about the position of the Serbs in Krajina could be resolved "only within the framework of the Croatian Constitution and constitutional law" and that the Serbs were offered cultural autonomy on this basis, while in "Knin and Glina districts, where Serbs are an absolute majority according to the 1991 census, they are offered the autonomy of highest standards."

He categorically rejected the proposal that Croatia be turned into a (con)federation when he said this was "out of the question."

A meeting in Athens of the Serbian and Croatian presidents, Slobodan Milosevic and Franjo Tudjman, as proposed by Greece, would not be held, said Sarinic.

Tudjman made it clear that the meeting could be held only after Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia have recognized each other, Sarinic added.

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Martic Demands UN Treat Serbs, Croats Equally

LD1208161994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1540 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—Milan Martic, president of the republic of Serb Krajina, has sent a letter to Yuliy Vorontsov, chairman of the UN Security Council, stressing that the people of the republic of Serb Krajina expects the UN Security Council to implement the UN peace plan for former Croatia in accordance with the Vance plan.

The letter, forwarded to TANJUG by the republic of Serb Krajina office in Belgrade, also demands that republic of Serb Krajina representatives be enabled to take part in the work of all UN bodies whenever the Serb-Croat dispute is on the agenda, as well as that the Security Council accord equal treatment and respect to the Serb and Croat sides, bearing in mind that the Serb nation formed its own state on these areas following the disintegration of the former Yugoslavia.

"First and foremost, the UN Security Council should prevent the occupation of territories on which the Republic of Croatia committed genocide," the letter says adding that the Republic of Croatia expelled more than 300,000 Serbs from its territory between 1991 and 1993 and that its police and army executed 14,000 of them in this period. This is attested to by 87 mass graves on territories controlled by the Zagreb government.

The letter was also forwarded to UN Secretary General Butrus Ghali, to Yasushi Akashi, the UN secretary general's special envoy for former Yugoslavia, and to David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia.

Refugees To End Blockade of UN Checkpoints

LD1508095694 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 15 Aug 94

[Text] Mato Simic, chairman of the Refugee Association of Croatia, has informed the Government of the Republic of Croatia and the Ministry of Internal Affairs that the organizers of the action to blockade the protection forces have decided to end the blockade at the checkpoints in Nemetin, Mirkovci, Lipovac, Ribnik, Pakovo Selo, and Podravlje beginning at 0700 on 16 August. This means that, beginning tomorrow, all checkpoints in the Republic of Croatia will be under the control of the Croatian Government and police.

Knin Support of 'Italian Neofascists' Feared

94BA0374A Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 94 pp 14-15

[Article by Josip Sentija: "Shady Dealings Between Knin and Trieste: Grabbing Croatia"]

[Text] The plotting of two chronic anti-Croatian irredentisms and imperialisms is afoot once again: The leaders of the Serbian rebels in Knin and the leaders of the Italian neofascists in Trieste are in agreement and concert in activating the "case of Dalmatia" (the "case" of Istria is a separate chapter in their strategies!). The seemingly trifling, almost tragicomic, but highly advertised decision of the "parliament of the Srpska republic Krajina" to "restore property taken illegally and grant nationality of the Srpska republic Krajina" to a certain Edi Katich dal Antonio, a woman who is an Italian national residing permanently in Trevis, in the Republic of Italy, and the almost simultaneous news that the Trieste regional leadership of the (neofascist) National Alliance had invited the leading Serbs from Knin to Trieste "for talks," suggest the conclusion that anti-Croatian plans are being formulated in new specific terms. This conclusion is additionally backed up by the announcement that this month in Knin a series of similar decisions will be made on "20 remaining applications for return of property to Italian nationals on the territory of the krajina," and also the official confirmation of the Trieste neofascists that "even their leader Gianfranco Fini, one of the triumvirs in the present Italian Government, is not against this regional initiative."

"Regional Cooperation"

It is important to the Serbian irredentists and imperialists to play footsy with the Italian neofascists (who now are even in power) as a factor for consolidation and international verification, if only indirect, of everything that they have achieved so far in their effort to partition and ultimately destroy Croatia.

And for Italian irredentism and the new expansionism, whose protagonists at this point are people in the neofascist National Alliance, the "regional cooperation" with the Knin Serbs is a means and way of putting pressure on Croatia and of bringing Croatia to its knees so that it will yield in connection with the demands which these protagonists are issuing for revision of the 1975 Osimo agreements and perhaps even the 1947 peace treaty with Italy.

Feeling themselves to be the unhindered owners and masters of parcels of land in Ravni Kotari and everywhere they hold power today, the Serbian leaders have obviously judged that the change in the balance of political power in Italy is very favorable for them. Because the neofascist movement there has managed to affirm itself in the parliamentary elections as the ruling party, they decided to go out to meet it and take advantage of the interest of nostalgic Italians in revising international treaties and agreements which for a long time have not been to the liking of either Serbian or Italian irredentism. On the one side, the Italian irredentists have traditionally been against a stable and entire Croatia, while on the other the Serbian irredentists and imperialists do not like any Croatia at all.

On the Same Strategic Line

We recognized long ago the objectives of the most recent Serbian intrigue against Croatia, which is today operational. It became quite transparent in the years of the SFRY's death rattle. It is those on the Serbian side, both inside and outside

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Serbia, who were daily beating their Yugoslav breast and swearing by Yugoslavia who perfidiously undermined the Yugoslav state and injected strong poisons of all kinds into those of its veins that were still alive. They did everything to finish it off as soon as possible, to grab as soon as possible all the territory designated as Serbian in the plans of Serbian expansionism. Looking back from today's perspective, when the "Serbian Opstina of Benkovac" and "Serbian Opstina of Zadar," with the "supreme sanction of the Knin parliament," are inviting Mrs. Katich dal Antonio and all the other Mr. and Mrs. dal Antonios to come to Smokovic and anywhere else in Ravni Kotari and take "what is theirs," we have before us one special offer—an offer which is at the base of these "deliberations" of the "Knin parliament": Dobrica Cosic, patriarch of Serbian chauvinism and imperialism, that same hypocritical and smooth-talking "internationalist" who visited Ravni Kotari and Zadar in 1970, in the period when the burial of "Croatian spring" was being prepared. In the Rome daily IL TEMPO Dobrica Cosic in 1988 (!!) made an offer to the Italians that they come and take Zadar and everything they had once had in Dalmatia and which "Tito had taken away" from them. The present "diplomatic" agility of the Knin leaders is on the same strategic line of the old and new core of Serbian expansionism in Dalmatia. Even then we understood clearly that Cosic's offer was a clear sign of espionage and proof that the Serbian expansionists had decided as part of the program for disassembling the state of Yugoslavia to offer the nostalgic Italian neofascists to make their move and together they would begin to rob and destroy Croatia. The difference between that moment and this is that then the Italian neofascists were not even close to power, much less in power, as they are today.

Illusions About Negotiations

Less than two years passed from that offer of Cosic's before the Serbian rebellion began in Croatia, two difficult, painful, neurotic, and stormy years in which the Croats in power at the time did not know what they should do, and with their famous "silence" they looked on at what was happening, horrified and helpless, in suspense as to what would happen to them. The course of events is well-known, and the consequences of the Serbian rebellion and the aggression against Croatia are also well-known. The continuity of the policy of Serbian expansionism is clear and consistent in all respects. Six years ago, Dobrica Cosic called upon the Italians to annex Dalmatia, just as they were invited in 1941 by the Serbian expansionists of Knin, Niko Novakovic Longo, his brother Vlade, and his comrade, Father Djujic. What Martic, Mikelic, and other leading Serbs of Knin are doing today is part of the same plan and project. All those who are carried away with the idea that Cosic and Milosevic and their partners and peons in Knin have possibly changed their opinion and given up their original plan and that under these circumstances it is even possible to negotiate fundamental issues with them are badly mistaken. Such negotiations are counterproductive for Croatia. Today's Serbian expansionists in Knin expect that the nostalgic Italians, should they take exclusive hold of the helm of Italian policy, will one day bring them to Zadar, and then together they will be able to "drink and dance" the way Father Djujic did in Kistanje during World War II, under the skirts of the Italian occupation army. And they also hope that the Italians, should they come to Zadar once again, would recognize special rights on their behalf and give them a few villas to enjoy in Zadar and Biograd, just as the occupation governor Bastianini gave to Longo Novakovic for services rendered to the Italian occupation army. "It is in the Serbian interest for Italy to penetrate as deep as possible" (into the Croatian interior!)—that is the ancient guideline of Serbian imperialism. Having seen for themselves for the umpteenth time its logic and purpose, what remains for the Croats is to establish how relevant is the instruction of the old Italian tentacles to "cleverly provide assistance," that is, covertly, secretly, to the Serbs in Knin. Croatian diplomacy would do well to confront official Italian factors with the real and far-reaching purport of the "regional" anti-Croatian demonstration between Knin and Trieste.

Shifts in Ruling Party Analyzed

94BA0374B Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 94 pp 16-17

[Article by Marko Barisic: "Along With Personnel Changes: Pasalic Does Not Like Radic's Shells"]

[Text] While according to reliable information he is carefully getting his things together, Dr. Jure Radic, chief of staff of the president of the Republic of Croatia, is wondering where he went wrong. Soon he is leaving the Presidential Palace. However right he might be for the post of minister of reconstruction because of his intentions of renewal and rebirth, to which, as he has said in public, he has subjected the devastated segments of the Croatian state, he still is not altogether clear about all those back-room mechanisms which have resulted in this change of jobs, which was a bit unexpected from his standpoint. The broad smile for his coworkers and the few long steps, which because of his basketball player's height are enough to take him from his own office to that of the president, are now his main manifestations as preparations are being made for "eviction" from the villa on Pantovcak. On his desk today there are only a few shells, his private mementos of his famous uncle, Brother Jure Radic, who made a world-class museum of them in the Makarska Abbey.

Radic is utterly unable to explain to himself why Ivic Pasalic (who is now, they say in the corridors, a candidate for the party's chief secretary) looked down on his shells, but he does know why he is being transferred. It is the result of the new balance of power in the incumbent party, which, after the departure of Manolic and his adherents, is "fine-tuning" from scratch. Instead of what were said to be three factions previously, only two now seem to have remained, and they, as is the custom in parliamentarianism, are fighting legally for the upper hand. In those struggles, the post of the president's chief of staff, a kind of doorman through whom one reaches the highest point of the state, is certainly not without importance.

The differences within the ranks of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], which certainly do not date from yesterday, seem to have become most manifest in connection with the negotiations between the incumbent party and the unified opposition concerning the dispute in the parliament.

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The compromise reached with the opposition was encouraged by the grouping led by Radic, Granic, and Greguric. They also had the support of Valentic. That agreement in the parliament was opposed by the other HDZ grouping: Seks, Bebic, Milas, and Pasalic—who judged it too large a concession and an unnecessary "spirit of compromise." This event in the parliament was proclaimed to be their big victory within the party, in spite of the fact that the consequence of this act is that the parliament will indeed have a quorum, but also too many empty seats. Just as in any party in the world, the rivalries within the party, and this also applies to those in the HDZ, follow the same pattern: that grouping wins which manages to "push" its man into a particular post. That was the case in election of the new secretary of the parliament, that is, in dismissing the old one. The grounds for Sikiric's removal were drawn up by the Commission for Elections and Appointments (chaired by Vice Vukojevic), who evaluated his performance in very unfavorable, even indecent words. On the insistence of representatives of the other grouping, those assessments were rejected, and Sikiric was allowed to depart with dignity. Vukojevic's man, Florijan Boras, was proposed for his post. It was a done deal, but his election was prevented at the last moment by Radic and Greguric, who put up their own man, Mihovil Klapsic. Radic's present departure is a continuation of that competition within the party.

Following departure of Manolic's left-wing faction from the HDZ, new terms are now in use, the analysts judge, because of the altered circumstances: The incumbent party might "dissect itself" into, first, the Europe-oriented faction, which wants to see Croatia tied to the European Union by financial and legal arrangements, which wants to see it in the Council of Europe, and whose only fear is that Europe will draw the border of civilization at the Sutla and the Drava. That European current in the HDZ, in which the most resounding names are Valentic, Greguric, Granic, and Radic, is prepared to accept and apply all the principles of the market economy, human rights, and protection of ethnic minorities; it is also prepared as a tactical move to make some compromise so that Croatia would not lose time in the process of joining the European community of states and peoples.

In opposition to them, although within the same party, there is the grouping which is not overly trusting of the international community. They have mainly ignored its warnings related to protection of human rights or fulfillment of certain conditions for acceptance into international institutions, or they have held them to be a consequence of the "bargaining" of certain Croatian circles. They are prepared even for an isolated Croatia, shut off from Europe and the world, but they would always conduct that policy which they say is the best for realizing Croatia's overall national interests, regardless of international suggestions. Seks, Bebic, Milas, Pasalic, and Vukojevic are representatives of that grouping. The dispute in the parliament best represents the difference between those Europe-oriented members of the HDZ and those which can imagine even an isolated Croatia. Whereas the first were in favor of compromise, the others were exclusive. Nevertheless, perhaps the Washington agreement is the best example. The former support it unreservedly, because it opened the door of international financial legal institutions to Croatia, while a good number of those in the other grouping believe that it is good only as a transitional solution.

Many people might be surprised by the fact that Radic nevertheless committed himself at one point in this competition within the party. In public, he has mainly represented himself as the president's staff member, a bit colorless, shielded by the president's person, to whom he has shown loyalty at every moment. He has expended most of his own strength organizing the operation of the President's Office, and he made too little use of the post of chief secretary of the party to build his own political image. What his "opponents" in the party mainly reproach him for is having put a priority on placing his own people in key posts regardless of how they will perform, both in the President's Office and also in the party. That "virtue" had a quite different impact on the party, which is a living political organism, because the President's Office is nevertheless something quite different in both its political and organizational makeup. Circles close to the President's Office have often mentioned that Radic had nevertheless not managed to achieve Sarinic's "bureaucratic" perfection, which is necessary for that post. At one time, the prevailing view about Radic both in the party and in public was that he had not sided with either of the groups in the HDZ. He probably thought that in that way he would be "above them all." However, it seems that his method of "personnel management," mainly in the office, was the decisive reason for his transfer to a new post.

Radic was not too clever, or, say those who are quite well-informed about his inner construction, he did not even want to be so clever as to set aside sufficient time to create his own image, his own political career. The post of minister of construction, which, after financial arrangements are concluded with the World Bank, will even have its own money, will probably serve him not only to rebuild what has been destroyed, or to build bridges, but also to grow into a strong and recognizable political figure through the firmness of his political views and through their public expression, including conflicts with those who think differently. That is why Radic, because of the work load, it has been announced, will be succeeded in turn by Pasalic in the post of party secretary, but this should not be taken to mean that Radic is dropping out of the game. That is, there are also other combinations.

Prime Minister Valentic has been saying for a long time that he is quite tired because of the work load to which he is sentenced as prime minister. His physical exhaustion is even showing. If Valentic leaves the post of prime minister in October, by when he should have achieved most of his plans, since Greguric no longer wants the post of prime minister, the group of candidates in the HDZ who could effectively perform that job is not very large. Deputy Prime Minister Skegro, not being a politician by nature, is nevertheless a first-class number-two man. It is possible, then, that Radic would become prime minister if by that time, through his performance in the Ministry of Reconstruction, he gets into the swing sufficiently to wrestle with the problems of the economy. It is possible that Granic would succeed Valentic, especially because in the coming period

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Croatia will have to solve the problems of both the displaced persons and the veterans of the homeland war more systematically and with more responsibility. Granic has already had occasion to become familiar with that group of problems, and, if it becomes a state priority, he would be able to succeed Valentic if he decided definitely to devote himself to private affairs. Valentic's withdrawal will possibly be without any of the political connotations which have been planted recently in the public by certain political circles. Governments change or experience changes not only when its personnel decisions prove to be poor, but also because people quickly "burn out" in such a strenuous job.

That is why it is a mistake to see Radic's transfer as a victory or defeat of a particular faction of the HDZ, unless one is thinking of the short term. In that case, it is a matter of a necessary "freshening" of the leaders of the incumbent party in the important post in the state.

In the most recent personnel shuffles, it is being semiofficially announced, those whose basic, and we fear only, political position is loud declamation of Croatism will no longer be decisive (as they were two or three years ago, at the height of the homeland war). The time for such politicians, as far as the Croatian public is concerned, is running out.

If a few concessions are still made to them, then this is more a sign of their coming "swan song." So, Radic's shells should not be underestimated.

'Media Crisis' in Country Discussed

94BA0374C Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jul 94 pp 21-22

[Article by Ratko Peter: "The Media: Who Is Shutting Down FERAL, and Why?"]

[Text] Is there yet another media scandal on the horizon in Croatia? Judging by what has happened in recent days with FERAL TRIBUNE, the Split weekly, but also HRVATSKI VJESNIK, a paper in Vinkovci less well-known to the public, it seems the answer is affirmative. The occasion for the most recent media crisis in Croatia is the recent decision of the Ministry of Culture and Education of the Republic of Croatia to extend the turnover tax to these newspapers. The administrative decision of the ministry, which, by all appearances, was only a pretext for certain other intentions of the top leadership of the state, has obviously agitated passions not only of journalists, but also the broad domestic public, and it has also evoked certain reactions outside the borders of Our Beautiful Land. However that may be, there is a great deal of talk about the (un)freedoms in Croatia once again.

Recently, a distinguished member of the Croatian Society of Journalists [HND] said that FERAL TRIBUNE and HRVATSKI VJESNIK were evidence that Croatia is not a law-governed state, but also evidence of the argument that what prevails in the country is media anarchy rather than media freedom. These publications, frequently mentioned in that context, have been synonyms of the two extremes, of the left-wing (FERAL TRIBUNE) and right-wing (HRVATSKI VJESNIK) positions. And while the problem of FERAL TRIBUNE has been given much greater coverage and has been more in evidence in the media, which certainly does not need any special explanation, the Vinkovci biweekly essentially represented almost the same thing, in spite of the fact that the highest officials in the state have created the impression in their statements that FERAL is the only media problem for the state, and that they even tacitly approved HRVATSKI VJESNIK. In the entire media story of postcommunist Croatia and that notorious question of whether there is freedom for the media or not, a question that has already become like the one about the chicken and the egg, we should emphasize that government institutions are not innocent either, because of the excessively passive behavior in many cases. On the one hand, it is quite logical for any authority to want to have the strongest possible influence on all spheres of society, especially the media, but it is also a fact that the media are a mirror of society in the literal sense of the word, whether some people want to accept this or not. That is why it is altogether logical that in a society in which a sizable portion of institutions is not functioning, things are not any different with the media, and this is supported by the most recent scandal with the Split and Vinkovci weekly and biweekly, respectively.

FERAL Among the Porn Purveyors

The Ministry of Education and Culture decided that FERAL TRIBUNE and HRVATSKI VJESNIK "are not considered a product covered by Article 19, Point 12, of the Law on the Turnover Tax on Products and Services, and on that basis they should pay the tax, which is to be payable from the date of publication." The ministry thereby "invalidates its previous opinion exempting those newspapers from payment of the tax." The substantiation of the decision invalidating the previous decision states that "the application for registration of the publication FERAL TRIBUNE specifies the content of the publication that follows: satire, politics, the economy, culture, and sports. Because the conception and content have changed since the application recorded in the ministry's register, that is, since the date when the Opinion was issued exempting FERAL TRIBUNE from payment of the turnover tax on services, the premises are no longer valid to continue to exempt this publication from payment of the turnover tax. The earlier Opinion has therefore been invalidated, and the publisher of FERAL, MAR CONSULT, limited liability company in Split, is required to pay the turnover tax." The same opinion was also "applied" to HRVATSKI VJESNIK in Vinkovci, so that following the decision of the Ministry of Education and Culture, Europski Jastreb, publisher of HRVATSKI VJESNIK, will also have to pay the turnover tax. Both opinions were were signed by the minister, Vesna Girardi-Jurkic.

It is obvious, then, that the ministry has put these publications in the category of trash literature and pornography, because only publications with that kind of content are not exempted from payment of the turnover tax. FERAL TRIBUNE has already sent a notice to the public in which it says that all of this is merely a consequence of the statement by certain leaders that "they would use legal means to put an end to the

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paper," but also that "the Draconian 50 percent of the paper's gross income faces the newspaper with no possibility of continuing publication." "Yes, it is certain that the highest power of the state is behind all this, because we obviously have been bothering them for a long time now," is the opinion of Boris Dezulovic, one of the editors of the controversial FERAL TRIBUNE. "We consider this decision of the Ministry of Education and Culture to be ridiculous to say the least, because we have changed neither the content nor the concept of the paper, as stated in the ministry's justification, and whereby they put us in the category of a porn magazine. If this is because of a few photographs we published, then the same thing should be done to many other papers publishing similar photographs. But the reasons are more than obvious, there have already been statements that they would put an end to us, and I consider this only a continuation of such statements. My position is that the ministry has played only a secondary role here, and that is also true of the minister, who is obviously carrying out the ideas of the top leadership of the state. We cannot interpret all this differently, the level of the tax is quite enough to ruin us financially, at this moment the future of the paper is utterly inevitable, which is probably what they wanted to achieve."

The Method of the Bull in the China Shop

Has FERAL TRIBUNE really changed its conception to the extent that it should be "reassigned" to the category of trash literature and a "purveyor of porn" or are more dubious reasons hidden behind the ministry's administrative decision? Does this mean that the state has undertaken the announced "cleanup" in its media yard, which it is doing with rather awkward and sloppy methods?

A threat has already come from the highest places in the state about "using legal means to put an end" to the Split weekly. Vladimir Seks, deputy prime minister, has spoken several times about "polluters of media space" in Croatia, a group that according to Seks would include some other papers in addition to FERAL. There are many signs that the occasion for introducing the turnover tax was that it was annoying, not its alleged change of conception. It is clear as day that the state has chosen an extremely unpopular method, which in figurative terms can be described as the bull in the china shop. Many institutions have already spoken out, screaming a bit hysterically about yet another smothering of public speech, the freedom of the media, totalitarianism, controlling the media, and so on. Regardless of the fact that sometimes the witty FERAL went further from good taste and the necessary journalistic provocativeness in some situations, and then there were some quite serious editorial mistakes, the painful impression remains that the top leadership of the state has above all handed Croatia yet another media scandal, thereby getting a decision exactly opposite to the one it desired.

The Croatian Helsinki Committee has already spoken out along these lines in a rather harsh announcement signed by its president, Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, in which he says among other things that introduction of the turnover tax for the newspaper FERAL TRIBUNE is "yet another in a series of attempts to smother independent, nonparty, and critical journalism in the Republic of Croatia." Certain political parties have also reacted, but so has the international federation of journalists, which gives additional weight to the entire business. In a press release signed by Adrian White, the ministry's move is treated as a "political revenge of the government against one of the rare publications in the country which is provocative and independent," and it "demands that the decision on payment of the tax be withdrawn immediately." A similar reaction came from the HND, which judged the decision of the ministry to be "harmful and inappropriate." "Although FERAL TRIBUNE had a number of mistakes in its editorial conception, and they were below the level of professionalism and civilization, I find that that newspaper has not been changing its conception and content, as attributed to it in the decision of the ministry," runs the opinion of Ante Gavranovic, president of the HND. "It is certainly a roundabout introduction of censorship, which constitutes punishment of the newspaper which is critical of everyone, especially certain phenomena in society and the government, and all of this is objectively leading to shutting down the newspaper. My position is that this destroys the prestige of Croatia in the world, especially in the segment of the freedom of public speech and information. Aside from the fact that such decisions do not lead us to Europe, they also deprive us of the attributes of a democratic society. That is why I want to say once again that the HND has already called upon Prime Minister Nikica Valentic to rescind that decision of the Ministry of Education and Culture in keeping with the government's public proclamation because it is harmful to our interests in general."

A Slap in Our Own Face

It is more than clear that the administrative decision of the Ministry of Education and Culture was only an occasion for some people's desires (Cicak speaks about the "Seks group") to destroy FERAL TRIBUNE under the screen of the turnover tax. Croatia is being shaken by yet another altogether unnecessary media crisis. By all appearances, the top leadership of the state must act as arbiter, and in this sense Prime Minister Valentic is already being called upon to "straighten out the matter." Nevertheless, it is a bit strange that in the entire story the problem of FERAL TRIBUNE is being exclusively examined from all sides, although HRVATSKI VJESNIK of Vinkovci has suffered the same fate, and that newspaper, if it really is a question of freedom of the media, should also be given "verbal" protection. But that is obviously another problem.

The ploy with the "change of conception" seems very transparent, insofar as everything comes under the head of "legal means." Perhaps it would help in resolving the accumulated media problems if the Council for Protection of Freedom of Speech finally went to work and its chairman was appointed. Otherwise, bureaucratic decisions of this kind will be disastrous for the media picture of Croatia, whatever "polluters" are referred to.

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Gligorov Sums Up Visits to U.S., Germany

AU1508115394 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 15 Aug 94

[Unattributed report: "United States and Germany for Stable Macedonia"]

[Text] Upon returning from his visits to the United States and Germany, President Kiro Gligorov stated at the Skopje airport: "The meeting with U.S. Vice President Al Gore assured me of their interest for preserving the stability, sovereignty, and peace in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] continues to exist. The Macedonian-U.S. relations, practically functioning at all levels, will continue to develop in the future. This will be manifested by a larger U.S. support for Macedonia at international financial institutions, along with a certain economic aid and other decisions to follow."

As for talks with the IMF and World Bank, Gligorov said they turned very successfully, despite the fact that negotiations on certain financial arrangements were somewhat delayed.

Speaking of his meeting with the German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel in Hamburg, he pointed out they had discussed several options of aid by the EU and Germany, and possibilities of Germany, being the current presiding country in the EU, to put pressure on Greece to lift its embargo against Macedonia. The talks, Gligorov said, especially focused on EU's obligations to aid Macedonia taken up even at the Edinburgh summit, as well as further steps to be made in order to begin new negotiations on cooperation. The two politicians had also discussed possible political cooperation concerning Macedonia's entering the CSCE and Germany expressed readiness to get engaged in the construction of the railroad to Bulgaria.

Milosevic To 'Recognize' B-H, Croatia, FYROM

AU1508100594 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 15 Aug 94

[Unattributed report: "Milosevic Will Recognize Macedonia"]

[Text] Citing the Italian paper LA STAMPA, the Belgrade news agency BETA informed the Serbian leader Slobodan Milosevic intends to directly recognize Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, and Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. This is brought into connection with the UN Security Concil precondition in its draft-resolution on lifting sanctions against Federal Yugoslavia.

Mazowiecki: Human Rights 'Below Expectations'

AU1208144394 Skopje MILS-NEWS in English 12 Aug 94

[Unattributed report: "Mazowiecki's Report"]

[Text] The Special Envoy of the UN Committee on Human Rights Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who visited Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] July 29 to 31, submitted a report on the situation, pointing out certain steps of improving human rights in Macedonia are underway. He also states, however, that the situation is below expectations, mostly due to the slow law-making process and lack of effective measures of protection of human rights. The country, he reports, is in a difficult economic situation which seriously prevents the implementation of economic and social rights of citizens. He stated several reasons for this, stressing the effect of the UN sanctions against Yugoslavia and the Greek blockade as most important ones. These outside factors, he writes, significantly contribute to the economic crisis and create serious conditions for possible social tensions. Under such circumstances, the process of establishing a modern society meets with serious obstacles.

Mazowiecki stresses the need of urgent and effective international support to abolish or alleviate these outside factors. He also points out Macedonia should be granted an adequate compensation for its losses due to the sanctions. The embargo must be lifted and Macedonia ought to be admitted into various international organizations and institutions it has applied for membership in. All of these measures would contribute to stabilizing the political and economic situation and create necessary conditions for greater protection of human rights.

Choice of Aliti as Head of PDP Assessed

94P21080A Skopje PULS in Macedonian 22 Jul 94 p 16

[Commentary by Saso Ordanoski]

[Excerpt] The arrival of Abduraman Aliti as head of the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] indicates serious preparation by this party for the difficult campaigning and election challenges that await us this autumn.

Mr. Aliti, whom I have had the honor to meet, is a serious and principled politician, a man of integrity, if such an expression still means anything. Aliti is not a man "to be used." He will be a worthy "opponent" to those (regardless of their ethnic identity) who think that it is possible to manipulate the Albanian political body in the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia]. It will be necessary, however, to watch to see whether, with his personal and official credentials, he can influence both the political currents in his party and the Albanian political scene in general, for which the participation of Albanians in the political system in this country is only the initial step toward the eventual reestablishment of some kind of regional constellation.

Meanwhile, the question is whether Aliti with his influence will succeed in making the PDP's participation in the current coalition government more productive. With respect to the latest government defeat in parliament, the failure to get new election laws passed, it is clear that the stalemate within the government about the entire range of serious social reforms will remain in effect until the next elections.

Some people think that things will be easier after the elections.

Would you please give me a serious reason to think so?

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Italian Citizenship Offer Draws Response

AU1208185494 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] One of the issues marking the current Slovene-Italian relations is also our people in the Primorsko region applying for Italian citizenship. In connection with this, the Foreign Ministry issued a brief statement yesterday. Among other things, the ministry pointed out the negative political consequences of the act of granting Italian citizenship to our residents in the Primorsko region.

The decision of the Italian Government to grant Italian citizenship to all those who, in Rome's opinion, permanently reside on the territories that Italy lost [after 1947], was today also commented on by Zoran Thaler, president of the State Chamber Commission for International Relations:

[Begin Thaler recording] This problem is nothing new for us. I warned about it this spring as we know well that this law has been in force in Italy for quite some time. The situation only escalated now that the deadline for the acquisition of Italian citizenship is expiring.

I think that this matter is very worrying for us in Slovenia and I personally believe that it would be good if legal experts assessed whether Italy's behavior is contrary to the Osimo Agreement, which already settled the problem of citizenship, whether Italy's behavior is contrary to international conventions on prevention of dual citizenship, and so forth.

This is definitely government's task. I also believe that it is not sufficient for the government to say that a decision about citizenship is a matter of personal choice by an individual. I believe that our government should urge our people not to take the Italian citizenship because this does not necessarily mean that this will be solely beneficial for them. Numerous problems can stem from this. We all know that a law on prevention of dual citizenship is in the parliamentary procedure in Slovenia and it would be very inconvenient indeed if all these people who take the second, Italian citizenship, would subsequently encounter difficulties. Our government should warn them about this beforehand.

I also believe that the government, that is, the Foreign Ministry, should ask Italy to refrain from actions that encroach on Slovenia's internal matters and should not attempt to destabilize this region. [end recording]

Balladur Supports EU Associate Membership Talks

AU1208173094 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] Prime Minister Dr. Janez Drnovsek today received a letter from his French counterpart Eduard Balladur.

The French prime minister, in his reply to a letter from the Slovene prime minister, expressed a desire that the negotiations between our country and the European Union about associate membership would be completed within the envisaged deadline. He reiterated the French support a resumption of the negotiations as soon as possible. He stressed that Paris values the efforts of the Slovene Government to prepare itself for membership in the European Union and, at the same time, acknowledged Slovene achievements in drawing nearer to the EU 12.

Military Delegation Sums Up Visit to U.S.

AU1208171594 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1330 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] A five-member delegation of the Defense Ministry has returned from a one-week official study visit to the United States. As the delegation said at today's news conference, the visit and the talks took place within the Military to Military program. Here is a report by Stane Skrabar:

[Begin recording] [Skrabar] Our talks, conclusions, and findings during the seven-day visit that was part of the Military to Military program will be important in the further development of education and training in the Defense Ministry and in the Slovene Army.

After he had summed up the visit and the talks in two U.S. military bases and academies, Defense Ministry State Secretary Boris Znidaric conveyed the following impressions:

[Znidaric] First of all, the people with whom we talked were very attentive. Second, we received correct treatment and sympathies for Slovenia's role in the world and in this part of Europe. They view Slovenia with great sympathies and see big possibilities for Slovenia to play an important role in this region, in easing of the situation in the Balkans and the resolution of problems.

Also, as regards our direct goals that we [word indistinct] in these talks, our U.S. hosts on several occasions stressed the possibilities and willingness for cooperation in the sense of exchange of lecturers, assistance in creation of programs, assistance in exchange of literature, assistance in equipping study rooms on the condition that the equipment in question is not included in the arms embargo, the possibilities for education and training of our officers in the United States, and, of course, the chances for further talks and cooperation. [end recording]

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Federal

Army Statement on Incident on Albanian Border

LD1308125094 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Nis, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—At about 0830 on 11 August 1994, a three-soldier patrol from the Dusko Radanovic border observation tower while on border duty at the temporary Liken observation tower on Mt. Pastrik accidentally crossed 30 meters into the territory of the Republic of Albania near the D-4 border demarcation stone, the information service of the 3d Army of the Army of Yugoslavia said in a statement today. As the soldiers approached a group of Albanian citizens working in a field they were intercepted by an Albanian border patrol and taken to the Vlana observation tower. Following intervention by the local mixed commission, the three soldiers returned on 12 August at 1540 at the Vrbnica border crossing. The soldiers were treated correctly by the Albanian authorities, the statement says.

Defense Chief Talks With Hungarian Counterpart

LD1408163994 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1557 GMT 14 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Aug (TANJUG)—Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic received Hungarian Defense Minister Gyorgy Keleti today. Keleti arrived on a working visit at the request of the Hungarian side, a statement issued by the information service of the Federal Defense Ministry says.

This was an opportunity for the two ministers to meet in person and exchange views on the most important current issues of interest for the security of the two states and the region. The talks confirmed the similarity of views on almost all vital issues and the mutual wish to improve our friendly and goodneighborly relations by joint efforts, the statement says.

National Radical Party Elects New Leaders

LD1308150694 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1423 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—At today's meeting of the executive [glavni odbor] of the National Radical Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka; NRS], Veljko Guberina was elected NRS president, the party's information service announced. Kosta Savic from Mionica, Nikola Tanancic from Novi Sad, and Janko Ducic and Aleksandar Nedic from Belgrade were elected the party's vice presidents. Zivko Djuric was elected chairman of the NRS executive.

Detention of Sandzak 'Secessionists' Extended

LD1208165194 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Novi Pazar, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—The Council of Judges, presided over by Nuho Mehovic, president of the district court in Novi Pazar, in accordance with his official duties, today decided to extend the detention of 16 people accused of having secessionist intentions in Sandzak. The council has thus rejected suggestions made by the defense that the accused be released. [passage omitted]

Serbia

Stoltenberg Arrives in Belgrade for Talks

LD1208165794 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1631 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Aug (TANJUG)—Torvald Stoltenberg, cochairman of the international conference on former Yugoslavia, arrived in Belgrade this afternoon. It has been unofficially learned that immediately upon his arrival in Belgrade Stoltenberg was received by Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic. Stoltenberg is expected to travel to Pale after his visit to Belgrade where he will have talks with the leadership of the Serb republic. According to an announcement from New York, Stoltenberg's talks in Belgrade and Pale will focus on the current situation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina and on prospects of the Bosnian Serbs accepting the peace plan. [passage omitted]

Milosevic, Stoltenberg Talk

LD1208201894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1949 GMT 12 Aug 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 12 (TANJUG)—Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and international mediator Thorvald Stoltenberg on Friday said they both believed a peaceful option would prevail in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Stoltenberg arrived in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia on Friday as envoy of U.N. Secretary-General Butrus Butrus-Ghali.

In an open talk, Milosevic and Stoltenberg exchanged views on the efforts towards a peaceful settlement of the Bosnian crisis. Stoltenberg said that he believed the latest attempts in this direction would give positive results.

The talks especially focused on steps that are being taken to achieve a just and stable peace and a political solution to the Bosnian crisis, President Milosevic's office said.

Following the talks in Belgrade, Stoltenberg is to leave for Pale, the Bosnian Serb political center to meet with the leadership of the Bosnian Serb republic.

U.N. spokesman Ahmad Fawzi said on Friday that the U.N. secretary-general had sent Stolteberg to Belgrade and Pale to persuade Bosnian Serbs to accept the 'Contact Group' peace plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina. Stolteberg will report to the general-secretary after the completion of his mission, Fawzi said.

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Growing Support in Serbia for Peace Plan

LD1208133494 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1215 GMT 12 Aug 94

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 12 (TANJUG)—About 70 percent of the population of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia believe that the "Contact Group" plan for Bosnia-Herzegovina's territorial division should be accepted.

The Belgrade-based private marketing and public opinion research agency "Partner" Thursday completed an opinion poll showing that the number of those supporting the plan has risen 3.5 times compared to July's results (20.6 percent).

The poll was conducted by telephone, covering 500 pollees and did not include Serbia's southern province of Kosovo-Metohija.

According to the agency's figures on July 16, half of the pollees in Serbia opposed the acceptance of the Contact Group plan.

"Partner" attributes this volte-face to a clearly expressed position of the leaderships of Serbia and Yugoslavia on the plan, the Belgrade daily POLITIKA said Friday.

Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic was the first Yugoslav official to publicly back the Contact Group plan.

The August poll also reflected a turn-about in the public stand towards Bosnian Serb leaders.

Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic now enjoys the support of only 22.7 percent of the pollees, as against 42.6 percent in July.

In July, one in five pollees did not support any of the Bosnian Serb leaders while in August their number rose to 36.7 percent.

The poll showed that 49 percent of Serbia's citizens support the Yugoslav Government's August 4 decision to sever political and economic relations with the Bosnian Serb republic because of their rejection of the plan, while 30 percent are opposed.

Figures in Belgrade differ slightly, with 31 percent in favor and 64 percent against.

Such results are attributed to a traditionally reserved stand of Belgraders towards the government policy and to the fact that more information is available in Belgrade than in other parts of Serbia, POLITIKA said.

"Partner" established that an average Serbian citizen is insufficiently informed about the contents of the Contact Group plan because most of the pollees did not know which cities in Bosnia would go to the Bosnian Serb republic and which to the Moslem-Croat Federation.

The poll also showed that 56 percent of Serbia's citizens oppose a deployment of foreign monitors on the border between Yugoslavia and the Bosnia Serb republic, while 21 percent are in favor.

Opposition Party Urges Belgrade-Pale Dialogue

LD1208163194 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1449 GMT 12 Aug 94

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Aug. 12 (TANJUG)—Serbia's opposition Democratic Party on Friday urged a restoration of dialogue between Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb republic.

"The blockade of the Bosnian Serb republic is counterproductive and is bound to have disastrous effects because it is directed against ordinary people and not those in power," said Democratic Party executive Ivan Vujacic at a press conference in Belgrade.

The Yugoslav Government decided to break off all political and economic ties with the Bosnian Serb republic on August 4, closing its borders to all transport except food, medicines and clothing.

The move came after the Bosnian Serb parliament rejected appeals by the Serbian President and the Serbian and the Yugoslav Governments to immediately accept a Bosnia division plan proposed by the "Contact Group," deciding instead to put the issue to a referendum.

Journalists Urge Renewing Ties to Bosnian Serbs

LD1308141294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1334 GMT 13 Aug 94

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 13 Aug (TANJUG)—The Serbian Journalists' Association [UNS] has appealed to the relevant Serbian and Yugoslav authorities to take all necessary measures to reestablish postal and telephone links with the Serb republic and facilitate a free flow of information as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

"We believe that breaking off communications is an inhumane act, because it forcibly severs personal bonds between people on both sides of the border. For days now fighters on the front have not been able to find out how their children who have found refuge in Yugoslavia are, while mothers, sisters, and wives from the Serb republic cannot find out whether their sons, brothers, and husbands are still alive." [passage omitted]

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